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RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN CANADA SINCE THE CESSION OF 1763*

By the treaty signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, the King of France ceded to His Britannic Majesty "Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts."[1] The territory thus ceded included the southern parts of the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario, the provinces of New Brunswick (which Britain had long claimed as part of the ancient Acadia) and Prince Edward Island, the island of Cape Breton, to-day included in Nova Scotia, and those states of the American Union which lie in the huge triangle between the great lakes and the rivers Ohio and Mississippi. Of the remaining sections of the northern half of North America, Newfoundland had been fairly continuously British since its occupation in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; Nova Scotia

* Presidential Address, Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1932, Toronto, Ontario.

[1] Treaty of Paris, art. iv. French text and English translation are published in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada 1759-1791*, 2nd ed., part I (Ottawa: 1918), 99-100, 115-6. (This publication will hereafter be referred to as *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791.*) It should be remembered that, until the federation of the majority of the provinces of British North America in 1867, "Canada" designated only the region of the St. Lawrence river and the great lakes. Here it is equivalent to the colony of New France.

and the watershed of Hudson bay had been definitively conceded to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713; and British territorial claims on the Pacific coast, in the present British Columbia, were to begin some few years after the Treaty of Paris, although not finally defined until the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846. Of these northern American dominions of the British Crown, the ancient colony of Newfoundland still in 1932 holds to her own solitary way; the lands south of the great lakes passed to the new American Republic in 1783; and the remainder, by an evolution considerably more complex than that of the thirteen colonies to the southward, have developed into the present Dominion of Canada.

The prestige of the British Empire never stood higher than in 1763; indeed, but seldom in the history of civilised peoples has any nation attained to the position of power and domination which Britain won by her victory in the Seven Years' War. With power went an exalted theory of dominion. According to English legal theory—and it is the legal theory and constitutional practice of England that have been accepted both by the United Kingdom and by the British Empire—the sovereignty of the state is absolute and unlimited. That sovereignty may, in these later days, have been split into many subdivisions, and each subdivision may be subjected to extensive limitations, but, however divided it may be, there always remains within the state a sum-total of power that has no limit. Originally—I speak as one not wise in the actual course of history—originally that power resided in the King. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had come about that the King had, for the benefit of his loving subjects, placed many restrictions on his absolute power, and it would be derogatory even for a legalist to assume—at least after the accession of William III of glorious memory—that a King would ever of his own motion retract such bounties; but whenever his loving subjects in Parliament assembled advised and consented to the King's so acting, those restrictions no longer bound. What the King could not do by Order in Council he could do by Act of Parliament. Even restrictions which legally might seem less flexible, the concessions, agree-

ments and treaties which the King might make with foreign potentates, were not without reservations: the King himself was the sole judge as to the interpretation of such agreements and as to when circumstances—usually the bad faith of those foreign potentates—rendered agreements no longer binding. In all this, it need scarcely be said, by "the King" is meant a constitutional entity which may have only the slightest connection with the actual human being who wears the British crown; although in 1763 the constitutional entity was much nearer to being identical with the individual person than is the case to-day.

To return to historical comment, it may be said that the constitutional development of England shared to the full that revival of ancient Roman legal theory and renunciation of medieval theory which wrought a revolution in western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is the peculiarity of England that she retained in large measure the forms and institutions produced by the middle ages, that she adapted them to the new-old absolutist theory of the sixteenth century, and that she has been able subsequently to make the whole conform with a long and orderly development of political liberty and democratic control of government.

The power of the state being unlimited, it has absolute control of that field which the old lawyers called "matters spiritual", and which we designate "religious affairs". So by an act of parliament of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, cap. I, sects. 16 and 17, it was enacted

"That no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate Spiritual or Temporal, shall . . . use, enjoy or exercise any Manner of Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Authority, Preheminence or Privilege Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, within this Realm, or within any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries that now be, or hereafter shall be"; and "That such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities and Preheminences Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as . . . hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the Visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and Persons, and for Reformation, Order and Correction of the same, and of all Manner of Errors, . . . shall for ever . . . be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm."[2]

[2] The wording of this act is in part determined by the fact that its primary

The Elizabethan act of supremacy, in its essential features, was still unrepealed in 1763. The royal supremacy in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal, was still the law of the land.

The evolution of British sovereignty in things temporal on Canadian soil from 1763 to 1932 is one of the most interesting and one of the most important political developments in the history of mankind. Only slightly less interesting and slightly less important is the parallel evolution of that same sovereignty in things spiritual.

In the relations between Church and State in Canada three chief phases may be distinguished. The first is the attempt of the State to shackle and control the Catholic Church, or, as the statesmen of those early days designated it when they wished to be polite, the Church of Rome; the second is the attempt to build up a system of religious establishment somewhat similar to that in England, with a Church partially supported by public funds and functioning in close coordination with the secular power; and the third is the cooperation, or the antagonism, of Church and State, as well-distinguished institutions, in those various fields of human interest which lie along the frontier between things spiritual and things temporal. All three phases overlapped in time and often fused together in practical application, but in relative public prominence they succeeded each other chronologically in the order that has been indicated.

The main era of legal and governmental restraint of the liberty of action of the Catholic Church was the eighteenth century, although some features of this policy continued in evidence until 1840, or even later. The second phase, of which the Church of England was the principal beneficiary, or victim, according to the point of view, attained its chief historical prominence only after the creation of the Anglican bishoprics of Nova Scotia, in 1787, and Quebec, in 1793, and the passing of the Constitutional act of 1791, by which the old province of Quebec was divided into the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and it was provided

object was the repeal of the legislation of Philip and Mary restoring the Catholic religion.

that in both provinces crown lands, equivalent in value to one-seventh of all future grants, should be set apart "for the Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy." [3] The policy of an establishment of the Church of England in British America had many ramifications, but the feature thereof most prominent in the public eye was this institution of Clergy Reserves in Canada, and that policy may be said to have come to an end with the secularisation of the Reserves in 1854 and with the legalising in 1857 of Anglican synods and the synodical election of bishops in Canada.[4] The third phase of the relations of Church and State is still with us, for the successful combination of spiritual and material forces in promoting human welfare is likely to continue *ad saecula* to be a subject of earnest study and sometimes of acrimonious controversy. The education of youth; the observance of the Lord's Day; the regulation of food, drink and clothing; matrimonial relations; censorship of the press, the stage, the cinema and the radio; the suppression of vice; the care of the helpless and the unfortunate—these are some of the fields in which secular action has been sought or resisted, ecclesiastical interference approved or denounced. The political activity of non-Catholic religious bodies has been most prominent in the promotion of the restraint or prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages, a movement which culminated during the Great War in almost nation-wide prohibition, but which has since dropped back to the condition of state monopoly and control of such sale. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has had her principal contacts with the secular power over the subject of religious education in the schools. It has resulted from a long process, of much historical interest, that the province of Quebec has to-day a school system in which three sections, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, are recognised, each practically autonomous and receiving its just proportion of public taxes; the province of Ontario has one system of public schools, but within it provision is made for Catholic separate schools maintained by the local taxes of their supporters and by a just proportion of the provincial

[3] 31 Geo. III, cap. 31, sect. xxxvi.

[4] Statutes of Canada, 19 and 20 Vict., cap. 141.

educational grant—a system which has the appearance of fairness, but, because of the antiquated method of assessment and taxation, works serious financial injustice to Catholics; Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have systems resembling Ontario, but with greater restrictions on Catholic rights; and the remaining provinces systems which give no legal recognition to Catholic schools but occasionally in practice tolerate their existence with state support.

But these are topics into which I cannot now enter. I wish to go back to that first phase of the relations between Church and State, and try to make a general survey of the attempt at governmental restraint and control of the Catholic Church, and the failure of that attempt.

When His Britannic Majesty acquired the French colony of Canada he received into his protection some sixty thousand new subjects who adhered to the Catholic religion. Therewith came the one legal restraint on the King's power over his new dominions. For the act of cession contained this provision:

> His Britannic Majesty on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship (*professer le culte*) of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, so far as the laws of Great Britain permit.[5]

But did the laws of Great Britain, which, according to the accepted interpretation, included the laws of England prior to the union with Scotland, grant any permission to the profession or practice of the Catholic religion? The entire anti-Catholic penal code was still in full force on the British statute books. Some passages from the Elizabethan act of supremacy have already been

[5] The French text of the treaty, with an English translation, is in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 97-126. It sometimes claimed that the Capitulation of Montreal, 8 Sept., 1760 (*ibid.*, pp. 7-36) gave certain permanent rights to the Catholic Church in Canada, and the Advocate General James Marriott, in his *Plan of a code of laws for the province of Quebec* (*ibid.*, pp. 445-83, especially 472) argued curiously that the Capitulation was not superseded by the Treaty. Such doctrine has received little juristic support, and was distinctly rejected by the Board of Trade in its report of 10 July, 1769. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

quoted. The second act of that same parliament was the act of uniformity, forbidding all public religious service other than as prescribed in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.[6] A whole series of further statutes penalised Catholics who did not attend these services, excluded them from all public offices and learned professions, prevented them from obtaining property by will or deed and otherwise harassed them in financial relations, prohibited the saying and hearing of Mass and the performance of any episcopal or sacerdotal functions, excluded bishops and priests from the realm, and banned all Catholic education. It is true that as regards religious persecution, in contradistinction to political disability, these laws were not enforced in 1763 with the rigor that had characterised an earlier generation, but they had not been repealed and they were not obsolete. When, fifteen years later, in 1778, Parliament abolished a few of the more obnoxious enactments of the code,[7] the popular reaction was a series of riots culminating in those of 1780 that bear the name of Lord George Gordon. An inevitable conclusion as to the effect of the clause, "so far as the laws of Great Britain permit," might seem to be that of Alexander Wedderburn, Solicitor General, in a report dated 6 December, 1772:

> This qualification renders the article of so little effect, from the severity with which (though seldom exerted) the laws of England are armed against the exercise of the Romish religion, that the Canadian must depend more upon the benignity and the wisdom of Your Majesty's government for the protection of his religious rights than upon the provisions of the treaty, and it may be considered as an open question, what degree of indulgence true policy will permit to the catholic subject.[8]

Moreover, this apparently nullifying clause was inserted in the treaty on the deliberate motion of the British government. The

[6] 1 Elizabeth, cap. 2.

[7] 18 Geo. III, cap. 60. This repealed the penalties against bishops, priests, Jesuits and school-teachers, and the prohibition against Catholics inheriting or purchasing property.

[8] Extracts printed in Robert Christie, *A History of the late province of Lower Canada*, vol. I (Montreal: 1866), pp. 27-45; reprinted in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 424-34.

Earl of Egremont, Secretary of State in charge of the American colonies, writing on 13 August, 1763, to Brigadier General James Murray to inform him of his appointment as first civil governor of Canada, declares:

> Tho' The King has, in the 4th Article of the Definitive Treaty, *agreed to grant the Liberty of the Catholick Religion to the Inhabitants of Canada;* and tho' His Majesty is far from entertaining the most distant thought of restraining *His New Roman Catholick Subjects from professing the Worship of their Religion according to the Rites of the Romish Church:* Yet the Condition, expressed in the same Article, must always be remembered, viz. *As far as the Laws of Great Britain permit,* which Laws prohibit absolutely all Popish Hierarchy in any of the Dominions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, and can only admit of a Toleration of the Exercise of that Religion; This matter was clearly understood in the Negotiations of the Definitive Treaty; The French Ministers proposed to insert the Words, *comme ci-devant,* in order that the Romish Religion should continue to be exercised in the same manner as under their Government; and they did not give up the Point, 'till they were plainly told, that it would be deceiving them to admit those Words, for The King had not the Power to tolerate that Religion in any other Manner, than *as far as the Laws of Great Britain permit.*[9]

The position of religion in the newly acquired territory was one of the many puzzling problems in colonial administration to which British statesmen gave earnest attention in the years following the Treaty of Paris. Some five or six main influences seem to have affected their policy: First, there was a desire to assimilate the new subjects to the life of the fold into which they had forcibly been introduced, to bring them the blessings of a higher civilisation, to Anglicise them and so, of necessity, to Protestantise them. Secondly, there was a sincere feeling of revulsion from the errors and superstitions of the faith to which the Canadians adhered. Thirdly, and more important, there was the long-inherited suspicion of the political machinations of the papal court, directed against all governments but more particularly that of a Protestant nation. Fourthly, there was the particular fear that France

[9] Public Record Office, London, (henceforth PRO), C. O. 42, vol. 24; transcript in Public Archives of Canada (henceforth PAC), Q 1, pp. 117-23; published in part in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791,* I, 168-9.

might use the machinery of the Church to facilitate the future recovery of her lost colony. In Egremont's despatch to Murray, the Governor is apprised that the King has reason to suspect

> that the French may be disposed to avail Themselves of the Liberty of the Catholick Religion granted to the Inhabitants of Canada, in order to Keep up their Connection with France, and, by means of the Priests, to preserve such an Influence over the Canadians, as may induce them to join, whenever Opportunity should offer, in any attempts to recover that Country; It therefore becomes of the utmost Consequence to watch the Priests very narrowly, and to remove, as soon as possible, any of them, who shall attempt to go out of their sphere, and who shall busy themselves in any civil matters.

Fifthly, there was a curious worship of the legal dogma of the King's supremacy, and an extraordinary sensitiveness towards any formal detraction therefrom. The brutal practical assertion of that supremacy in things spiritual which had characterised Tudor and Jacobean days was no longer contemplated, but any suggestion of a denial or limitation thereof in form was unequivocally condemned. Thus in a report of the Board of Trade on the state of affairs in Canada, with suggestions for reforms therein, we read:

> As to His Majesty's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Cases, in absolute exclusion of all foreign power or jurisdiction whatever, it is, we humbly apprehend, a Right, and Prerogative, which, by the principles of this Government, as by Law declared, is inherent in, and inseparable from the Crown in all parts of the British Dominions; and therefore is already a part of the Constitution of this Colony: it may not however be improper, in order to remove all doubts or mistakes in a matter of so much importance, to refer to it as such in the preamble of the Law, that shall be passed for the reform above-mentioned; which will, we apprehend, be a very sufficient, and not an improper promulgation to His Majesty's New subjects of this fundamental part of the constitution of that Government, to which they are now become subject, and will be a full and sufficient warning to them of the illegality and inadmissibility as well of any appeals to any foreign Church, Tribunal, or Jurisdiction, as of any order or regulation whatever in Ecclesiastical Matters, other than such as proceed immediately from His Majesty, or from those acting under His Royal Authority.[10]

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[10] PAC: Q 18B, pp. 7-91; printed in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 377-93; this passage will be found at p. 388.

Finally, there was a wish, conscientious as well as politic, strictly to observe treaty obligations, and to show a friendly indulgence to the people of Canada.

On 7 October, 1763, the first step towards the civil organisation of the new territories in America was taken by issuing a proclamation which, among other provisions, annexed Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton to Nova Scotia (the present New Brunswick was considered to lie within the ancient boundaries of Nova Scotia); created a new Government of Quebec, with restricted bounds, in the watershed of the St. Lawrence river; and set apart the former French territory in the interior as an Indian reserve. Promises were given that in the new governments, among them Quebec, General Assemblies would be summoned "so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof," and, in the meantime, all persons inhabiting therein or resorting thereto "may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England."[11]

Nova Scotia, unlike Canada, was not restricted by treaty obligations on the subject of religion. There the treatment of the Catholic question was simple and radical. A colonial legislature had met in 1758, and the first statute of the first session, "An Act for confirming Titles to Lands," enacted

> that no Papist, hereafter, shall have any right or title to hold, possess, or enjoy, any lands or tenements, other than by virtue of any grant or grants from the Crown, but that all deeds or wills, hereafter made, conveying lands or tenements to any Papist, or in trust for any Papist, shall be utterly null and void: And such lands or tenements shall not revert to the persons granting the same to any Papist, or in trust for any Papist, but such lands or tenements shall, upon conviction of such Papist, be vested in His Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever.[12]

Another act of the same session, "for suppressing Popery", banished all popish priests under pains of perpetual imprisonment, and heavily fined any persons offering them assistance.[13] By an act of 1776 every schoolmaster was required to take the usual anti-

[11] PAC: Q 62A-I, pp. 114-28; printed in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 163-8.
[12] Nova Scotia Statutes, 32 Geo. II, cap. 1, sect. ii.
[13] N. S. Statutes, 32 Geo. II, cap. 5.

Catholic oaths, "and if any popish recusant, papist or person professing the popish religion, shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within this province, and be detected therein, such offender shall, for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or main prize, and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds." [14]

But a different procedure was desirable in the new Government of Quebec, with sixty thousand inhabitants, practically all Catholics and protected in some way by treaty stipulation. Following the proclamation of 7 October, 1763, commission and instructions were issued to James Murray as Captain General and Governor in Chief.[15] These were more or less stereotyped documents based on similar instruments used for Nova Scotia and the colonies to the southward. The oaths prescribed for the governor and his councillors were the same as in the other colonies, including the declaration against transubstantiation,

> I *A. B.* do declare, That I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever.[16]

Also the oath against papal jurisdiction,

> I *A. B.* do swear, That I do from my Heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be deposed or murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever, And I do declare, That no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.[17]

The instructions recited the clause on religion of the Treaty of Paris, and proceeded:

[14] N. S. Statutes, 6 Geo. III, cap. 7.

[15] The commission was issued on 21 Nov., the instructions on 7 Dec., 1763. They are printed in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 173-205, the commission from the copy in the office of the Secretary of State of Canada, the instructions from the copy in PRO, transcript in PAC: M. 230, pp. 1 sqq.

[16] 25 Chas. II, cap. 2.

[17] 1 Geo. I, 2nd sess., cap. 13.

It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure, that you do, in all things regarding the said Inhabitants, conform with great Exactness to the Stipulations of the said Treaty in this respect.

But a later article provides:

You are not to admit of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the See of Rome, or any other foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction whatsoever in the Province under your Government.

And another promised assistance to Protestant ministers and schoolmasters

to the end that the Church of England may be established both in Principles and Practice, and that the said Inhabitants may by Degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their Children be brought up in the Principles of it.[18]

This was preliminary. The somewhat cumbersome machinery of British imperial administration was set in motion to evolve a more detailed and permanent policy for Quebec. The religious question was formally brought to official attention by a memorial from the Catholic diocesan chapter of Quebec, praying for the continuance of bishopric and chapter,[19] transmitted in a despatch from Governor Murray to the Earl of Shelburne, President of the Board of Trade, 14 September, 1763.[20] It was read at the Board of Trade on 18 November and transmitted to the Privy Council;[21] laid before the Lord President of the Council on 29 November and "ordered to lye by"; read on 19 March, 1765—sixteen months later—and referred to the Committee on Plantation Affairs; on 25 March referred back to the Board of Trade;[22] reported on by the Board to the Committee on 30 May. That report was referred, on 13 June, 1765, to the law officers of the Crown, who, although

[18] The instructions also directed that the inhabitants were to be called together and required to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration (whether of the Pope or of the Stuart Pretender is not specified), and, in the case of Catholics, to make a return of their arms and ammunition. This order was never executed.

[19] PAC: Q 1, pp. 234-8.

[20] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 1, pt. I, pp. 99-110; PAC, id., pp. 73-7.

[21] "Précis of Ecclesiastical Affairs". PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 21; PAC, id., pp. 93-100.

[22] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 2, pt. I, pp. 213, 224; PAC, id., p. 117.

admonished that "as this matter is of great national moment and requires despatch, they are hereby ordered to make their report thereon as soon as possible," [23] did not make such report until nearly three years later, on 18 January, 1768.[24] On 28 September of this year 1768 the Plantation Committee once again sent the whole subject, including the opinion of the law officers, to the Board of Trade, and on 10 July, 1769, that institution made an elaborate report, already referred to, on the whole state of the province, including the religious situation.[25] Even this was not final, for down to the passage of the Quebec act in 1774 the official word on Canadian ecclesiastical affairs was that they were still under the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

Obviously neither a Napoleon nor a Mussolini was shaping British policy in the era that followed the Seven Years' War. But it seems certain that the procrastination was in part deliberate, to avoid making a decision which seemed likely to cause serious offence either at home or in the colony. The original subject of consideration, the appointment of a bishop to Quebec, had long been settled through extra-official channels, but from the first that reference had been treated by the Board of Trade as involving the whole question of religious polity.

Meanwhile practical necessity was forcing practical decisions. Governor Murray had, by an ordinance of 17 September, 1764,[26] set up a system of judicature in Quebec in which, as he explained in the accompanying commentary, he was practically compelled to admit Catholics as jurymen everywhere, and as advocates, etc., in the lower courts.[27] But the Protestant members of the grand jury of Quebec promptly represented this as a violation of the laws.[28] The issue was forced. Did the penal laws of Britain

[23] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, vol. IV (1745-1766), p. 715.

[24] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 7, pp. 7-20; PAC, id., pp. 6-11.

[25] Cf. n. 10 supra.

[26] *Ordinances made for the Province of Quebec* (Quebec: 1767); reprint in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 205-10.

[27] PAC: Q 62A–II, pp. 500 sqq.

[28] Presentment of 16 Oct., 1764. PAC: Dartmouth Papers, vol. I, p. 29; *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 212-5.

extend to Canada? Did they so extend in their entirety, or only such as by express wording applied to all the King's dominions? or only the still smaller number of the older acts which expressly mentioned the dominions both present and future, among these being the act of supremacy? Or, if these laws had not previously been of force there, were they extended to Quebec by the peculiar words of the proclamation of 7 October, 1763?

On 7 June, 1765, the Board of Trade applied to the Attorney General and Solicitor General, Sir Fletcher Norton and William De Grey, for their opinion.[29] On the 10th they replied:

> We . . . are humbly of Opinion, that His Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects residing in the Countries, ceded to His Majesty in America, by the Definitive Treaty of Paris, are not subject, in those Colonies, to the Incapacities, disabilities, and Penalties, to which Roman Catholicks in this Kingdom are subject by the Laws thereof.[30]

The opinion was approved in a report of the Board of Trade of 2 September following,[31] and on 17 February, 1766, supplementary instructions were issued to Governor Murray directing that all Canadians be admitted as jurors and as advocates, etc., to all the courts of the province.[32] Thus was made the first formal breach in the anti-Catholic penal code of the British Empire.[33]

Other practical difficulties were looming up in Quebec—a muddle over the laws, revenue troubles, petitions for and against the establishment of a legislature. On 2 September, 1765, the Board of Trade had recommended that a General Assembly be called,

[29] PAC: Q 18A, pp. 104-5.

[30] PAC: Dartmouth Papers, M. 383, p. 69; *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 236. This was an extraordinary opinion, however it may be explained.

[31] PAC: Q 18A, pp. 131-73, *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 237-47.

[32] PAC: Dartmouth Papers, M. 383, pp. 152-4. Cf. *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 249, n. 2. The instructions were made effective by an ordinance of 1 July, 1766. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

[33] See W. R. Riddell, "Status of Roman Catholicism in Canda," *Catholic Historical Review*, Oct., 1928, pp. 305-28. Catholics had received favorable treatment in the island of Minorca, but this had come into the British dominion not by conquest but as a part of the Spanish kingdom which adhered to the Archduke Charles in the War of the Spanish Succession and refused to recognise the Bourbons, and had retained its old constitution.

with Catholics qualifying as voters but not as members,[34] and in their great report of 10 July, 1769, already mentioned more than once, they advised that a limited number of Catholics be admitted to the Assembly, from whom should be required the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, but not the declaration against transubstantiation. The Board of Trade and other members of officialdom entertained the curious notion that Catholics could take the oath of supremacy, that the Pope's supremacy was not an article of faith.[35] Although the error was frequently pointed out,[36] and was avoided in the Quebec act, it seems to have continued for years to lurk behind the British attitude toward Catholicity.

Finally, in 1774, Government took decisive measures which, it was hoped, would settle the Canadian question. The most important of these was the Quebec act, 14 George III, cap. 83. By this act the boundaries of the province of Quebec were extended inland to the Ohio, the Mississippi and the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company; the proclamation of 7 October, 1763, the Governor's commission, and all enactments regarding government and the administration of justice were repealed; all Canadian subjects, "the religious Orders and Communities only excepted," were confirmed in their property and civil rights; and the Governor's nominated Council, of which the number of members was increased, was authorized to make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the province:

> And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of *Rome* of and in the said Province of *Quebec*, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the First Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did,

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[34] PAC: B 8, p. 12. *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 247-8.

[35] This opinion seems first to have come into legal significance in 1766, when the Catholics of the island of Granada, likewise ceded by the Treaty of Paris, were seeking admission to the local Assembly. See the opinion of Attorney General Yorke, in *Calendar of Home Office Papers, 1766-1769*, no. 403, pp. 152-3.

[36] Cf. *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 260, 460-1.

or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion.

Provided nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, to make such Provision out of the rest of the said accustomed Dues and Rights, for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall, from Time to Time, think necessary and expedient.

Provided always, and be it enacted, That no Person, professing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, and residing in the said Province, shall be obliged to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the First Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, or any other Oaths substituted by any other Act in the Place thereof; but that every such Person who, by the said Statute is required to take the Oath therein mentioned, shall be obliged, and is hereby required, to take and subscribe the following Oath before the Governor, or such other Person in such Court of Record as His Majesty shall appoint, who are hereby authorized to administer the same; *videlicet*,

I A. B. *do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King* George, *and him will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all traiterous Conspiracies, and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His Person, Crown, and Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and traiterous Conspiracies, and Attempts, which I shall know to be against Him, or any of Them; and all this I do swear without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation, and renouncing all Pardons and Dispensations from any Power or Person whomsoever to the Contrary.*

So Help Me God.[37]

The Quebec act has been called the Magna Carta of Catholic liberties in Canada. So it was, as regards the personal and politi-

[37] The statute is reprinted, from the original black-letter edition, in *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, I, 570-6.—Bishop Briand submitted this oath to the Propaganda at Rome, and received an assurance from Cardinal Castelli that it contained nothing objectionable. Abbé Auguste Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada après la conquête*, pt. I (Quebec: 1916), pp. 229-30.—The religious bearings of the act, and the opposition aroused thereby, are well treated in the Hon. Thomas Chapais, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, vol. I (Quebec: 1919), pp. 135 sqq.

cal freedom of Catholic citizens. It established the complete political equality of the Catholics of Quebec as subjects of the King, and this four years before the first slight amelioration of their legal outlawry in Britain, and fifty-five years before Catholic emancipation. It anticipated emancipation in the maritime provinces. In Nova Scotia the two penal acts of 1758, forbidding Catholic acquisition of land and banishing Catholic priests, were repealed in 1783,[38] and that of 1766 against Catholic schoolteachers was repealed in 1786.[39] In 1826 and 1827 the peculiar oath imposed on Catholics by the legislation of 1783 and 1786 was abolished,[40] and Catholics received the same religious rights as Dissenters, and in 1830 the United Kingdom act of emancipation of the preceding year was extended to the province.[41] In Prince Edward Island, which had been created a separate province in 1769, and New Brunswick, so created in 1784, the United Kingdom act was likewise extended to these provinces in 1830.[42]

But the Catholic Church as an institution was left by the Quebec act almost in the same position as it had been since the cession. The parish priests, it is true, were now enabled to use legal means to compel the payment of the customary tithes, a concession of more apparent than real value, and the authorisation of "the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy," may have been a slightly stronger formula than that used in the Treaty of Paris. But the royal supremacy was expressly reserved, and in the guarantee of property rights the religious orders and communities were expressly exempted. The Crown still remained free to shape as it saw fit the state policy in ecclesiastical affairs.

We have seen how the problem of state policy towards the Catholic Church in Canada had been tossed back and forth between different bureaus of government during the period 1763 to 1774,

[38] N. S. Statutes, 23 Geo. III, cap. 9.
[39] N. S. Statutes, 26 Geo. III, cap. 1.
[40] N. S. Statutes, 7 Geo. IV, cap. 18; 8 Geo. IV, cap. 33.
[41] N. S. Statutes, 11 Geo. IV, cap. 1.
[42] Prince Edward Island Statutes, 11 Geo. IV, cap. 7; New Brunswick Statutes, 10 and 11 Geo. IV, cap. 33.

while practical difficulties were forcing decisions on the parallel problem of the *status* of Catholics as citizens. Governmental policy towards the Church was definitively formulated by the instructions which, following the Quebec act, were issued to the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, on 3 January, 1775. It is clear that these instructions, so far as they related to the Catholic Church, had their basis in the "Heads of a Plan for the Establishment of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Province of Quebec" which the Board of Trade appended to its report of 30 May, 1765,[43] a plan that was criticised freely, especially as to its relations with vested interests, in the comment of the law officers of 18 January, 1768, and modified and expanded in the large report of the Board of 10 July, 1769. The plan in turn seems to have grown out of a memorandum entitled "Thoughts upon the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Canada" which had been submitted, on 11 April, 1764, by the Anglican Archbishop of York.[44]

The sections in the instructions of 1775 referring to ecclesiastical affairs begin thus:

"The establishment of proper regulations in matters of ecclesiastical concern is an Object of very great importance, and it will be your indispensable duty to lose no time in making such arrangements in regard thereto, as may give full satisfaction to Our new Subjects in every point, in which they have a right to any indulgence on that head; always remembering that it is a toleration of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome only, to which they are entitled, but not to the powers and privileges of it, as an established Church, for that is a preference, which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England.

"Upon these principles therefore, and to the end, that Our just Supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, may have its due scope and influence, it is Our Will and Pleasure,—" Then follow a series of directions which may be briefly summarised: (1) Appeals to and correspondence with any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction forbidden; (2) no episcopal or vicarial powers to be exercised except such as are essentially

[43] The covering report and the plan are in PAC: Q 18A, pp. 83-7, 88-103. Also in Ann Arbor, W. L. Clements Library: Lansdowne (Shelburne) MSS, vol. LXVI, pp. 19-21; vol. LIX, pp. 17-30; PAC: id., pp. 20-2, 11-23.

[44] Lansdowne (Shelburne) MSS, vol. LIX, pp. 43-50; PAC: id., pp. 30-6. See also the letter from the archbishop to Shelburne, 10 April, 1767. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-8; PAC: id., pp. 24-7.

necessary, and then by licence of the governor, which is also to be required for each conferring of holy orders; (3) Canadians only to be appointed to ecclesiastical benefices, and by the royal authority; (4) the incumbent to be a Protestant, and to be entitled to all the tithes, in any parish where the majority of the inhabitants so wish; but in all parishes both Catholics and Protestants to have the use of the church; (5) tithes from Protestants in parishes having a Catholic incumbent, and all the profits of a vacant benefice, to go to the Receiver General for the support of a Protestant Clergy; (6) all Catholics appointed to benefices, or licensed to exercise any ecclesiastical authority, to take the oath prescribed in the Quebec act; (7) incumbents of parishes to hold during good behavior, and subject to deprivation or suspension by the Governor in Council; (8) ecclesiastics who marry to be exempted from ecclesiastical penalties; (9) burial in churchyards to be allowed to all Christians; (10) the royal family to be prayed for, and the royal arms to be set up, in all churches; (11) the seminaries of Quebec and Montreal to continue in their property and in their functions, subject, like all other religious communities, to visitation by the Governor and to regulation by the Governor-in-Council; (12) the Society of Jesuits to be suppressed and their property vested in the Crown; but the present members to be provided for during life; other communities to be tolerated for the present, but those of men not to admit any new members; Catholic missionaries amongst the Indians to be replaced by Protestants "at such times and in such manner, as shall be satisfactory to the said Indians, and consistent with the Public Safety"; all Catholic ecclesiastics to be prohibited from influencing any person in making a will, and from tampering with Protestants in religious matters, and all priests from preaching against the Church of England, and from performing sacerdotal duties for Protestants if a Protestant minister be on the spot.[45]

Thus the Catholic Church in Canada as an institution was granted a bare legal toleration, with restrictions on its liberty of action and a state control over its personnel and administration which might at any time, if enforced and obeyed, turn it into a schismatical body. This policy was formally maintained through the Constitutional act of 1791,[46] which divided Quebec into the two

[45] PAC: M 230, pp. 116-60. *Cons. Docs. 1759-1791*, II, 504-614.

[46] The following clause was then added to the instructions: "You are to permit Liberty of Conscience, and the free Exercise of all such modes of Religious Worship as are not prohibited by Law, to all Persons who inhabit and frequent the Province of Lower [Upper] Canada, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the same, without giving

provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and down till 1840, when the act of union reunited them into the single province of Canada, and is enunciated in the instructions given on 7 September, 1839, to Charles Poulett Thomson, last governor before the union.[47]

How did the Catholic Church meet this difficult situation?

Bishop de Pontbriand, last bishop of Quebec under the French régime, died on 8 May, 1760, four months before the capitulation of Montreal. Of the members of the diocesan chapter five, including the dean, the Abbé de La Corne, were in France. Father Jean Olivier Briand became vicar-general in Quebec, and several assistant vicars-general were appointed. Immediately after the peace in 1763 the Abbé de La Corne crossed to London to open negotiations with the British Government, especially with regard to the filling of the episcopal vacancy. His mission was apparently unsuccessful: Egremont, the Secretary of State, refused to see him,[48] and Shelburne, President of the Board of Trade, although granting an interview, gave him to understand that a bishop would not be tolerated.[49] Nevertheless, the Abbé obtained an understanding of the point of view of the British Government of which later he was to make effective use. In Canada Vicar-General Briand assembled the diocesan chapter at Quebec on 12 September, and on the following day that address to the King

offence or Scandal to Government." Arthur G. Doughty and Duncan A. McArthur, *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada 1791-1818* [*Cons. Docs. 1791-1818*] (Ottawa: 1914), p. 26.

[47] British Parliamentary Papers 1840: (180) Ordered to be printed 29th June 1840. It is to be noted that in the instructions issued to the Earl of Dalhousie, 13 April, 1820, the 11th and 12th of the above clauses are omitted, and in the instructions to the Earl of Durham, 2 April, 1838, it is declared of the instructions in general that they are in many respects obsolete, inapplicable, or superseded by later statutes. PAC: M 232, pp. 123-5.

[48] Egremont to Murray, 13 Aug., 1763. PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 24; PCA: Q 1, pp. 129-32.

[49] La Corne to ———, 4 May, 1763: in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XV, p. 296; quoted in Gosselin, *op. cit.*, I (1916), p. 83. Much valuable material for this whole episode will be found in Mgr. Henri Têtu, "Le chapitre de la cathédrale de Québec et ses délégués en France—Lettres des chanoines Pierre Hazeur de l'Orme et Jean Marie de La Corne," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Aug., 1907–Dec., 1910, vols. XIII-XVI.

was adopted which, as we have seen, set in motion a long effort in London to formulate an ecclesiastical policy for Canada.[50] Three days later the chapter, taking the view that, in the new state of affairs, the right of episcopal nomination had returned to their body, elected the Rev. Étienne de Montgolfier, Vicar-General of Montreal and head of the seminary there, as bishop.[51] Montgolfier set out for Europe early in October, and was soon followed by Étienne Charest, one of the most estimable laymen of the country, bearing popular petitions to the King in support of the chapter's address.[52] The address, as we have seen, was treated with ponderous consideration, but Montgolfier found his course blocked by the personal hostility of Governor Murray.[53] He carried out certain negotiations for the separation of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal from that in Paris,[54] and then returned to Canada.

Meanwhile the Abbé de l'Ile-Dieu, Vicar-General for Louisiana and the Mississippi, had made from Paris a full report to the papal court. In reply, Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, despatched instructions, dated 28 March, 1764, to the Papal Nuncio in Paris,[55] which declared null and dangerous the election by the chapter, and proposed, as a solution more likely to be acceptable to the British Government, that the See of Quebec should lie dormant and a vicar-apostolic be appointed by the Holy Father. On 9 September, 1764, Montgolfier, returned to Quebec, addressed a renunciation to the chap-

[50] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 sqq.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 79 sqq.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 86 sqq. Charest presented his addresses to Lord Halifax, 14 Dec., 1763. See "Précis of Ecclesiastical Affairs," PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 21; PAC: id., pp. 93-100.

[53] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 99-110; PAC: id., pp. 73-7.

[54] The transfer of title to their estates in Canada from the Seminary in Paris to the Seminary in Montreal was made 21 April, 1764. See the copy of the register of the act of Foi et Homage, 3 Feb., 1781, in PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 15; PAC: id., pp. 62-72; also Christie, *op. cit.*, VI, 243-8.

[55] French translation, from the document in the Episcopal Archives of Quebec, is given in Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-106. A letter from the Cardinal to the Abbé de l'Ile-Dieu on the same subject is given *ibid.*, pp. 108-11.

ter, and recommended Vicar-General Briand for the episcopal office, who, incidentally, had the great advantage of enjoying the favor of Governor Murray. On 11 September the chapter went through the process of *electing* Briand, and then, "ad majorem cautelam," went through another process of *presenting* him to the Pope as worthy of the appointment.[56] Soon after, Briand sailed for England. The Abbé de L'Ile-Dieu wrote to Rome in his favor, and the Abbé de La Corne prepared an elaborate memorial in answer to the "Instructions" of the Propaganda. There can be no doubt that La Corne had the interests of the Church at heart, but it seems clear also that, as a good Canadian, he was most anxious to maintain the continuity of the See of Quebec. He did not mince his words. After relating the action of the chapter, and Briand's mission to London, as to which there were hopes that success might be obtained, "but *on conditions which, perhaps, may be displeasing to the Holy See,*" he proceeds:

> It seems, indeed, at present, that the Court of England and the British Ministry will freely yield to the toleration of a Bishop in Canada, but on the following conditions: first, that he shall never be dependent on any foreign power, and, above all, that he shall have no connection with Rome, or with France; secondly, that they will tacitly consent to his obtaining Bulls from Rome for what concerns his canonic institution, since that is necessary for the plenitude of jurisdiction; but, once provided with all such as are required for governing his Church, he should no longer maintain any dependent connection with Rome, unless for what might concern the extent of that jurisdiction; and, even to secure this tacit consent from them, it was necessary to assure them that, once provided with the Bulls, and in consequence consecrated Bishop, he would draw his authority from his place and his see.
>
> It would be difficult to set forth here the extent of the opposition to the Holy See shown in this affair by the Court of England and all the members of the different departments of its government: and from that, undoubtedly, springs their opposition to a simple vicar apostolic, bishop in partibus, persuaded as they are that he would be revocable *ad nutum* by the Holy See, and consequently in a continual and direct dependence on Rome, whilst they have constantly appeared to have less repugnance to a titular bishop, who, once elected by the Clergy of the diocese and approved by Rome, would be independent, and thereafter would have

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 114 sqq.

relations only with the civil government, whose laws and constitution it would be easier for him to observe, and to which, moreover, he would be obliged to conform in all things not prejudicial to the freedom of his office or to that of the public exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, for the benefit of the Catholics composing his Church.[57]

La Corne, possibly for politic reasons, did not dwell on English notions regarding the royal supremacy, but it is obvious that in all else he had obtained a clear understanding of the curious obsession of the London authorities that it would be possible to create in Canada an independent Church under the control of the British state. His arguments were successful with Rome. On 21 January, 1766, the bulls for ordination were issued, and, remarkable thing, they were addressed "Dilecto Filio J.-Olivario Briand, presbytero saeculari, *Electo Quebecenci.*"[58] After spending more than a year without obtaining any positive statement from government, Briand decided to take the advice of some friends who were in close touch with official circles,[59] cross to France, have himself quietly consecrated, and return to England equally unostentatiously. He was consecrated at a private chapel near Paris on 16 March, 1766; set out three days later for London, where he found the official world still personally friendly; and arrived in Quebec on 28 June.[60] There he was addressed by everybody—except Francis Masères, who arrived a few weeks later to take the office of Attorney General,[61] and a few other conscientious

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-32.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[59] Among them were H. T. Cramahé, Murray's secretary, and Sir Thomas Mills, Receiver General of Quebec, both of them temporarily in England. See their letters of 10 Dec., 1765, and 18 and 19 Feb., 1766, in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XVI, pp. 3-5. It was during the short administration of the Marquess of Rockingham that the Government winked its eyes at Briand's consecration. Francis Masères, a man of ability but inheriting a strong Huguenot prejudice against Catholicism, says that Rockingham was influenced in this policy by Edmund Burke, and that the reasons of state on which it was based were practically those reported to Rome by the Abbé de La Corne.—Masères, *Occasional Essays* (London: 1809), pp. 367-72.

[60] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 sqq.

[61] Landsdowne (Shelburne) MSS, vol. LXIV, pp. 411-22; PAC: id., pp. 106-13.

Protestants—as Bishop of Quebec, but officially he was "Superintendent of the Romish Church."

In England Briand seems to have obtained some kind of approval from the Government to the appointment of a coadjutor *cum futura successione*.[62] While in Paris, on 3 March, 1766, he wrote to Cardinal Castelli and to Pope Clement XIII making this request. On 9 April, 1766, Castelli replied granting Briand the right to choose such a coadjutor and propose him to the Sovereign Pontiff.[63] It was not until 1770 that the new Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, consented to the appointment, and not until 1772 that the bulls came from Rome.[64] The Abbé Louis Philippe Mariauchau Desgly was then consecrated, with the consent of Lieutenant Governor Cramahé. When Cramahé reported the matter to London,[65] he was answered by Lord Dartmouth that his action appeared to be "a matter of the highest importance, and the more so as I do not find upon the fullest examination that any authority whatever has at any time been given by His Majesty for the exercise, within the Colony, of any powers of Episcopacy in matters relative to the religion of the church of Rome."[66] The subject would be laid before the Privy Council, and there, apparently, it remained.

So was assured the perpetuation of the episcopate on Canadian soil. As often, personality was of the greatest importance in those difficult early days. To the tact, frankness, probity and firmness of Bishops Briand, Desgly, Hubert and Denaut, and to the honor, justice and statesmanship of the Governors Murray, Carleton, and even Haldimand, it seems mainly due that a disastrous clash did not take place between those two apparently incompatible institutions, the old British Empire and the Catholic Church. The

[62] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[63] *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec: 1929-1930* (1930), pp. 63-4.

[64] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6. Briand had resisted the insistence of Carleton, and even of the Canadian people, especially of some of Desgly's relatives, that he consecrate without the bulls. Desgly remarked that his nephews were in a hurry to be able to say "My uncle the bishop." *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

[65] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 31, pp. 261-6; PAC: Q 8, pp. 160-4.

[66] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 31; PAC: Q 8, pp. 166-8.

loyalty of bishops and clergy during the American Revolution, the wars with France, and the War of 1812 fortified the Church's position. When, at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, a deliberate attempt was made to force an issue, the *modus vivendi* had been too long and too firmly established to be disrupted.

The leaders of that attempt were Sir Robert Shore Milnes, Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada 1799-1805, Sir James H. Craig, Governor in Chief 1807-1811, Dr. Jacob Mountain, first Anglican Bishop of Quebec, Jonathan Sewell, Solicitor General of Lower Canada 1793, Attorney General 1795, and Chief Justice 1809-1837, and especially Herman W. Ryland, Civil Secretary to the governor 1793, and Clerk of the Executive Council 1796. Their object was to force the Church back into its legal position of bare toleration. The actual situation against which they protested may be summarised thus:

(1) The bishop, beginning as coadjutor, was nominated by the governor and the incumbent bishop,[67] approved by the British Government and the Pope, and took the oath of allegiance before the executive council. The governor's was a potent, if not the most potent voice, in the nomination, and the approval of the home government was not a mere formality.[68] But, in spite of royal supremacy and royal instructions, no bishop was consecrated until the bulls of authorisation arrived from Rome. Moreover, a continuous, though at first guarded, correspondence was maintained with the papal court.[69] The bishop carried on his diocesan duties

[67] Robert Christie, commenting on one of Ryland's letters, says: "On the decease of the Bishop, his Coadjutor succeeded him, and it consequently became necessary to appoint his successor. The individual to replace him, it is said, was usually agreed upon in a private and confidential conference between the Governor and Bishop, who, therefore, it is most likely, suggested, in the first instance, the individual of his Clergy whom he deemed the fittest for the post, and whose appointment being acceptable was accordingly confirmed by a Papal Bull at the instance of the Bishop, and simply on this verbal and friendly understanding with the Governor." Christie, *op. cit.*, VI, 257.

[68] Before accepting the nomination of Mgr. Hubert in 1784, Lord Sydney insisted that the post should first be offered to Montgolfier, whom Murray had vetoed in 1763. Sydney to Hamilton, 30 April, 1785. PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 47; PAC: Q 24-I, pp. 214-8.

[69] Bishop Briand named Dr. Thomas Hussey to be Vicar General for Quebec

and exercised his episcopal powers without interference. By a provincial ordinance of 1791, the bishop was recognised as having the same power as under the French régime in the forming of parishes, building of churches, etc.[70] Later Sewell attempted to have this ordinance voided, but without practical success.[71]

(2) The chapter of the cathedral, although Bishop Briand had obtained from the Pope approval of its continuance, was not countenanced by the government and disappeared.[72]

(3) The instructions regarding the governor's control of priests, as to ordination, appointment to parishes, and activities, and as to their taking the oath of allegiance, remained a dead letter. Foreign priests were rigidly excluded until the French revolution, when a large number of *émigré* ecclesiastics were admitted.

(4) Of the religious communities, the Jesuits and the Recollets were not allowed to recruit new members, and their property was confiscated. The priests of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal and the various congregations of nuns, were, in accordance with the royal instructions, tolerated in a precarious tenure, as to which they occasionally suffered petty annoyances.[73]

(5) Although Catholic missionary activities suffered severely after 1760, the policy of replacing Catholics by Protestants was never literally enforced. Indeed, in Nova Scotia, government found it necessary to provide missionaries, in direct violation of the provincial statute, in order to keep the Indians at peace.[74]

(6) In other respects, the royal instructions were generally ignored. Prayers were offered for the king and royal family,[75] but it does not seem

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in England. Hussey, chaplain to the Spanish embassy and afterwards first president of Maynooth College and Bishop of Waterford, had many friends in London, among them George III himself. He made a good channel for foreign communications. On Hussey, see *Studies*, Dec., 1928, pp. 529-46.

[70] 31 Geo. III, cap. 6. Reprinted in *Report of the Public Archives for 1914 and 1915* (Ottawa: 1916), pp. 253-4.

[71] In the case of the *pain bénit*, Lavergne vs. Bertrand. See S. Pagnuelo, *Études sur la liberté religieuse en Canada* (Montreal: 1872), pp. 58-68, 88-95; Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90, 112-7.

[72] Briand, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 sqq.

[73] PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 40; PAC: Q 17-II, pp. 672-3. PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 18; PAC: id., pp. 94-103, 114-8.

[74] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 306 sqq.; Lansdowne (Shelburne) MSS, vol. LI, pp. 387-92; PAC: id., pp. 12-6.

[75] During the military régime Briand went so far as to have the king prayed for not only from the pulpit but in the canon of the mass. Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-4.

that the royal arms were erected in any Catholic church. Nor did the Receiver General take over the revenues of any vacant parish.

The efforts at replacing the shackles on the Catholic Church culminated in 1810, when Governor Craig sent Ryland to England bearing a despatch to Lord Liverpool, the Secretary for the Colonies, dated 1 May, in which a general alteration of the Canadian constitution was urged. In reference to the religious situation, he calls attention to the lack of governmental control over the Bishop:

This Bishop tho' unknown to our Constitution and confirmed, if not appointed by a Foreign Power, has been suffered to exercise every Jurisdiction incident to the episcopal functions, he nominates to all the benefices of the Province, and removes at his pleasure from one living, to another, and it is not an unfrequent circumstance, for an offence, or a supposed offence, to be punished by a degradation from a good Cure, to one of lesser emolument. His Patronage is at least equal to that of the Government, & it is so perfectly at his pleasure, that Government has no other notice of it, than that he usually once a year delivers to the Governor a list of such changes as have taken place during the preceding twelve months; so complete does the Bishop consider his independance, & so cautious is he not to perform any act which might be construed into an acknowledgement of His Majesty's Rights that if a Proclamation is issued for a Fast, or thanksgiving or any other object which involves it in an Act of the Church, He will not obey it as an emanation from the King, but He issues a mandate of his own to the same purpose, indeed, but without the least allusion to His Majesty's authority, or the Proclamation which the Government has issued, In truth the Catholic Bishop tho' unacknowledged as such, exercises now a much greater degree of authority than he did in the time of the French Government, because he has arrogated to himself every power which was then possessed by the Crown; The Arms of England are nowhere put up in the Churches.

With the Curés themselves, no direct communication from the Government exists in any shape, a numerous and powerfull body, dispersed in every corner of the Country, and certainly possessing a very considerable weight, and influence with the people, scarcely know, and are hardly known to the Government, no one Act of Government since it has been under my direction, has ever been addressed to a Curé, nor has any one instance of communication from a Curé ever reached me, perhaps an exception to the first part of this observation might be brought in my having in the desire of circulating the Speech I made to the Parliament when I dissolved it, directed a Copy to be sent to each of the Curés, the

circumstance however will furnish no exception to the second part, for there did not occur a single instance of a Curé even acknowledging the receipt of it.

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It is not to be doubted that their religion renders them our secret enemies; the most liberal professors of the most unbounded toleration, (I confine the observation to those residing here, and who see what passes daily) admit this. Their attachment to France is equally undoubted, and it is now even supposed to be not a little directed to the Person of Bonaparte, who since the concordat, is considered among them as the Restorer of the Roman Catholic Religion.[76]

In this despatch, and in the instructions to Ryland that accompanied it,[77] the ecclesiastical objects were (1) the "resumption" of the patronage of the Catholic Church, that is, that parish priests should be appointed by government, through letters of induction, and that the bishop's power should be made directly dependent on letters patent from the Crown;[78] (2) the "resumption" of the lands held by the Seminary of Montreal, and the appropriation of the Jesuits estates to the education of "the English part of the Colony."

Ryland in England during 1810 and 1811 worked hard on his mission.[79] The net result was an opinion from the law officers of the Crown, of 3 July, 1811, that the King held the right of patronage exercised by the bishop under French rule, and that the land-titles of the Sulpicians were not valid. They expressed their regret "that for so many years a sort of possessory title

[76] PAC: Q 112, pp. 121-55. Christie, *op. cit.*, V, 391-418; *Cons. Docs. 1791-1818*, pp. 387-400.

[77] Christie, *op. cit.*, 418-25.

[78] It was suggested that this should be presented as an acceding to the petition of Bishop Denaut of 18 July, 1805. The bishop, perhaps frightened by the course of action in Lavergne vs. Bertrand, and the conversations of his coadjutor, Mgr. Plessis, with Sewell (PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 127; PAC: Q 97, pp. 175-87, 188-93. Christie, *op. cit.*, VI, 74-82; *Cons. Docs. 1791-1818*, pp. 304-9) appealed for a *legal recognition* of his position; this was to be interpreted as a request for *governmental appointment*. Christie, *op. cit.*, V, 279-80; Pagnuelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

[79] A large number of Ryland's papers are published in Christie, *op. cit.*, vol. VI.

should seem to have been tolerated, which, if not consistent with legal right, it may now be difficult . . . to disturb," and their advice that it would be desirable to have His Majesty's rights restored "by . . . compromise or amicable arrangement." [80]

In 1811 Craig retired through ill-health, and in 1812 Ryland returned to Canada to find a new policy of friendliness towards the Catholic Church and the Canadian people inaugurated by Sir George Prevost. Soon after, to the disgust of himself and still more of Bishop Mountain,[81] he was ordered by Prevost to issue a warrant for a salary of £1000 to Mgr. Plessis as "Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec," not as "Superintendent of the Romish Church." [82]

Henceforth the relations between the Catholic Church and the government of Canada pass into that second stage mentioned above, in which the secular authorities tended to treat all Christian religions, though more particularly the Church of England, as instruments of moral good which should receive favor and to some degree financial support from the State. Control of the Church was still desired, but it was sought in a different way and for a

[80] PAC: Q 115, pp. 176-80. Christie, *ibid.*, pp. 227-30; *Cons. Docs. 1791-1818*, pp. 424-5.

[81] See the Bishop to Earl Bathurst, 15 Dec., 1813. PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 155; PAC: Q 126, pp. 170-1.

[82] This was by order of the Prince Regent, in recognition of the bishop's patriotic zeal during the war against the United States. Since 1775 the "Superintendent of the Romish Church" had been paid £200 per annum. See memoir by Plessis in PRO: C. O. 42, vol. 173; PAC: Q 143, pp. 373-87; also Christie, *op. cit.*, VI, 312-3. Plessis was particularly obnoxious to Ryland. A mandement issued by the bishop in October, 1810, asking prayers for the Pope, then a prisoner of Napoleon, had the usual heading "par la grace du S. Siège Apostolique, Evêque de Québec." Ryland presented this to the Under Secretary, Robert Peel, as a "gross violation of the rights and prerogatives of the Crown," and solemnly made out a case for legal opinion as to whether the Rev. Mr. Plessis had not rendered himself liable to criminal prosecution. Christie, *ibid.*, pp. 196-200. But in a private letter to Craig he remarks: "It is very observable that Mr. Plessis omits no opportunity of arrogating power and consequence to himself, and I believe in my conscience that this was the principal, if not the sole, motive for putting forth the present paper. I much question if *religion alone* would induce him to give a shilling to prevent the Pope from being hanged!" *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

different purpose. The old fear of a "foreign potentate" was weakening as also the old terror lest the British constitution should be undermined because a curé was appointed to a parish in the backwoods of Canada without any formal recognition of the King's supremacy in all matters spiritual and temporal. Now the thought was more of the Church as a great instrument for public welfare which, by a judicious combination of justice, friendship and cajolery, might serve to maintain the good disposition of the people, especially, perhaps it should be added, their good disposition on election day.

Nevertheless it was only slowly that the old attitude of mind and the old regulations passed into discard.

In 1817 Mgr. Plessis was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, under the title of "Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec." [83] This news appears to have led the papal court to believe that the complete independence of the Church in Canada was recognised, and on 12 January, 1819, bulls were issued creating Quebec an archbishopric and appointing vicars-apostolic for Upper Canada and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Bishop Plessis was in London in furtherance of negotiations he had opened with the British Government for the division of his diocese, when the announcement reached him: Earl Bathurst was much angered and protested to the Holy See, and in deference to government Mgr. Plessis never assumed the title of archbishop. But in London and Rome he was able to arrange the division of his diocese, and vicars-apostolic auxiliary to him were appointed at Montreal, Kingston, Red River and Prince Edward Island.[84]

[83] Earl Bathurst to Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, 6 June, 1817. PAC: Q 151A, pp. 88-9; *Cons. Docs. 1791-1818*, p. 556. Chief Justice Sewell immediately communicated with Governor Sherbrooke as to the illegality of the proposed method of appointing Plessis, and induced him to forward to London an instrument drawn up by Sewell by which the King "named and appointed" the Rev. Joseph Octave Plessis "to be Bishop of the Roman Catholic See of Quebec" and then summoned him to the Council, a form which, it was well known, the Bishop would not accept. But the mandamus had been issued in London before this communication was received. PRO: C. O. 42, vols. 175, 178; PAC: Q 145, pp. 66-7, 78-93; Q 148-I, pp. 117-8.

[84] Mgr. H. Têtu, *Journal d'un voyage en Europe par Mgr. J. O. Plessis:*

In 1826 Upper Canada became a separate diocese, and in 1831 Bishop Alexander Macdonell was admitted to the Legislative Council of that province. Bishop Macdonell's character and especially his strong loyalist sentiments enabled him to maintain the best of relations with the provincial and home governments.[85]

By provincial acts of 1830, 1831, and 1839 [86] the freedom and legal capacity to act, in accordance with the laws of the Church, were secured to parishes and religious societies. In 1839 the diocese of Montreal received letters of incorporation, and that of Quebec in 1845. In 1845 the dioceses of Upper Canada were incorporated by statute,[87] which recognised the respective bishops as proprietors of diocesan property; and in 1849 [88] those of Quebec, Montreal and Bytown. This last statute recognised each archbishop or bishop as the diocesan corporation; extended the same rights to dioceses to be created in the future; and recognised the existence of cathedral chapters, coadjutors, and vicars-general.

In 1831 the imperial government surrendered to the province of Lower Canada, under certain restrictions, the confiscated estates of the Jesuits, to be used for educational purposes.[89] (It was not until 1888, long after confederation, that all claims on this property were finally disposed of by provincial appropriations, including a grant to the Jesuit Order. Occasion was thereby given to one of the famous politico-religious controversies of the Dominion.) In 1836 a commission of enquiry on the estates of the Sulpicians of Montreal declared that, while there might be flaws in the legal title, the equitable claim could not be disputed. An

1819-1820 (Quebec: 1903); the Rt. Rev. Lionel St. George Lindsay, "The centenary of the diocese of Quebec," *Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1921, pp. 152-64; the Rev. H. J. Somers, *The life and times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell* (Washington: 1931), pp. 65 sqq. Nova Scotia had been made a separate diocese, under the Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, in 1817.

[85] See the Rev. H. J. Somers, *op. cit.*

[86] Statutes of Lower Canada, 10 and 11 Geo. IV, cap. 58; 1 Will. IV, cap. 51; 2 Vict. capp. 15, 39. The first of these will not be found in the usual collections, but is given in Pagnuelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-72.

[87] Statutes of Canada, 8 Vict., cap. 82.

[88] Statutes of Canada, 12 Vict., cap. 136.

[89] Goderich to Aylmer, 7 July, 1831. PAC: Q 200A, pp. 122 sqq.

ordinance of 1840 recognised this claim, incorporated the community, and arranged for the gradual extinction by purchase of their seigniorial rights on the island of Montreal.[90]

Any slight governmental control over the appointment of bishops that still existed disappeared in the 1840's. As a matter of pure courtesy the names of new episcopal appointees were still for some time reported to the governor. Just when this change was taking place the Governor, C. P. Thomson, now Lord Sydenham, wrote an interesting despatch in which he gave his views of the relations of the State and the Catholic Church in Canada:

> Thus in fact in this country, more perhaps than in any other, the direction which the opinions and feelings of the people may take, depends on the catholic Clergy and therefore upon the heads of that church—The turn out of the French Canadians in 1812, and of the men of Glengarry & Stormont in 1838 under the late Bishop McDonell are striking proofs of what I advance, but daily observation in the country has satisfied me of its truth. The importance therefore of those high situations being filled by men of undoubted loyalty & attachment to the Crown of Great Britain is undeniable, nor is it of much inferior consequence to the good and easy Government of the Country, especially of Lower Canada, that they should be persons entertaining good feelings towards the General Administration of affairs and with whom confidential communication can be had with perfect Safety, Occasions constantly arise in which the interference of the Diocesan is of the utmost importance to the peace and tranquility of various Districts, and this can be effected only by personal and confidential communication with the Dignitary himself upon whose good or bad disposition towards the Government the result must depend—
>
> I regret to say that of late years, little, if any attention seems to have been given to these considerations,—It is of course, impossible for the British Government to exercise openly any direct authority with respect to the choice of R. C. Bishops in Canada, but it is no less true that it has the power indirectly to do so, and that the expression of its wishes is certain to produce the effect it may desire. The Roman Catholic church has had much to ask in Canada of the British Gov[t]. It has much still which it seeks, and even if it were not so, there is no doubt that there exists elsewhere in quarters which are all powerful in these matters, no

[90] Statutes of Lower Canada, 3 and 4 Vict., cap. 30. See Thomson to Russell, 28 June, 1840. PAC: Q 272-II, pp. 484-5; British Parliamentary Papers: Despatch ordered to be printed 23 Feb., 1841.

indisposition to attend to suggestions which may be made by Her Majesty's Government.[91]

This was a far cry from the "Heads of a Plan for the Establishment of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Province of Quebec." *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

JAMES F. KENNEY.

[91] Sydenham to Russell, 22 May, 1841. PAC: G. 456, pp. 31-8. In the instructions issued to Sydenham as governor of the united Province of Canada, 30 Aug., 1840, the directions of 1775 regarding the Catholic Church finally disappear. The last effective use of official influence in connection with the hierarchy of Canada seems to have been on the occasion of the bull issued 12 July, 1844, raising Quebec to metropolitan dignity with suffragan sees of Montreal, Kingston and Toronto. It had been the intention to include Halifax, Charlottetown and New Brunswick, but Mgr. Wiseman, who privately interviewed James Stephen, the Under Secretary of the Colonial Department, received from him the curious information that the government was obliged by the act of cession of Canada to recognise a hierarchy in Canada, but could not do so in the maritime provinces. Hence, it would seem, the metropolitan see was limited to Canada. The new Archbishop Signay incautiously communicated Wiseman's confidential information to the Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and so brought forth a denial from Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, and orders not to recognise the new title "for the present." See PAC: C. E. Prov. Sec. Office, 1846, no. 523; G 449. pp. 31-4; 460, pp. 391, 425-6, 457.

LA PAROISSE ET L'HABITANT CANADIEN SOUS LE RÉGIME FRANÇAIS[1]

Quels beaux souvenirs évoquent dans l'esprit ces deux mots: la paroisse et l'habitant canadiens! Quelle riche mine à exploiter pour le sociologue, que la vie intérieure de ces paysans de l'ancien régime! La paroisse en formait tout le cadre. Voilà pourquoi elle occupe une place prépondérante dans l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France. Elle a été le rempart de la foi, de la langue et des traditions, la pierre angulaire de l'édifice national: elle a sauvé la race.

Les origines de la paroisse. Le premier évêque de Québec, Mgr de Laval, en jeta les fondements; au début, vu le peu de population, ses limites étaient nécessairement très étendues et embrassaient souvent toute une seigneurie; quelquefois, cependant, deux ou trois petites seigneuries formaient une paroisse. Chaque seigneurie comprenait plusieurs rangs tracés à la distance d'un mille l'un de l'autre; le lot de terre concédé par le seigneur à son censitaire s'étendait d'un rang à l'autre; il mesurait d'ordinaire de trois à cinq arpents de front sur trente à quarante de profondeur. Le colon, à son arrivée dans le pays, s'établissait immédiatement sur la portion de terre qui lui avait été donnée, et en commençait aussitôt le défrichement. Sa maison s'élève à l'orée du bois, le long du petit sentier qui deviendra bientôt un chemin plus ou moins passable. Les premiers habitants de la Nouvelle-France ne se groupent pas comme ceux de la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Les maisons se distancent de trois ou quatre arpents. Elles forment sur les deux rives du fleuve comme un village bâti sur une seule rue et se prolongeant indéfiniment. Un premier rang rempli, un deuxième, un troisième s'ouvraient en arrière. Lorsqu'un groupe de cinquante à soixante familles s'y trouvait rassemblé, on y traçait les limites d'une circonscription paroissiale. On y bâtissait une petite chapelle et un missionnaire y venait célébrer

[1] Paper read at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27, 1932, Toronto, Canada.

la messe trois ou quatre fois par année. Nécessairement, les circonscriptions primitives furent très étendues, mais peu à peu elles furent subdivisées de manière à former des paroisses qu'un curé résident pouvait desservir sans trop de difficultés. Lors de la Conquête, il existait 82 districts paroissiaux avec une population d'environ 65,000 âmes.

Les origines de la population primitive. Cette population était le résultat de l'accroissement naturel de 10,000 Français à peine, immigrés en la Nouvelle-France de 1608 à 1760. Cette immigration peut se répartir à peu près comme suit: 3,900 engagés, 3,500 soldats, 1,100 filles ou veuves venues en vue du mariage, 1,000 déportés et 500 personnes libres et venues à leurs frais.

Les colons agriculteurs. Les premiers immigrants, ceux qui vinrent de 1640 à 1660, venaient de la Normandie, de l'Anjou et du Poitou. Ceux de la Normandie s'établirent dans le district de Québec, à l'île d'Orléans et sur la côte de Beaupré. Les groupes de l'Anjou et du Poitou allèrent dans le district de Montréal. Ces groupes étaient formés de paysans recrutés par les seigneurs et les compagnies de colonisation; ils étaient habitués aux travaux des champs et possédaient presque tous un petit métier. Honnêtes et triés sur le volet, ils étaient, en outre, d'une constitution robuste. Peu instruits, plusieurs ne savaient ni lire, ni écrire. Ces gens ont formé le fond principal de la population canadienne, ceux qui s'établirent sur des terres pour les cultiver et qui y restèrent.

Les engagés. Afin d'aider les colons dans leurs travaux de défrichement, on envoya au Canada une catégorie spéciale d'hommes qu'on appelait *engagés*. Ces engagés étaient des jeunes gens pauvres. Ils devaient passer trois ans en service comme ouvriers ou domestiques. Au bout de ce laps de temps, ils devenaient propriétaires fonciers, épousaient souvent une fille de leur maître et s'établissaient auprès de lui.

Les militaires. Des militaires aussi en bon nombre, surtout des soldats du régiment Carignan-Salières, restèrent au pays après leur temps de service. Comme les *engagés,* ils devaient d'abord faire leur apprentissage d'agriculteur chez un colon, après quoi ils recevaient un lopin de terre.

Les "filles du roi." Afin de donner des épouses aux

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et aux soldats, vu qu'on n'en trouvait pas en nombre suffisant au pays, on imagina de faire passer en Canada des jeunes filles. On les appelait les *filles du roi* parce que le roi lui-même payait leurs frais de voyage et les dotait. Ordinairement elles se mariaient dès leur arrivée à Québec, car les prétendants ne manquaient pas. On sait ce que le baron de La Hontan a dit de ces filles, qu'elles étaient tout simplement des filles de mauvaise vie. C'est une accusation erronée, comme bien d'autres qu'on trouve chez cet auteur. On prenait grand soin de s'assurer de la conduite de ces filles avant leur départ. De plus c'était le clergé qui les recrutait et elles faisaient la traversée sous la conduite d'une femme de confiance. Si, à leur arrivée, elles n'étaient pas mariées à bref délai, on les confiait aux meilleures familles de la colonie, en attendant de leur avoir trouvé un époux.

Les deportés. Restent les déportés. Ici encore on a dit, en comptant le nombre de ces déportés, que le Canada avait été peuplé par des repris de justice. Mais il faut s'entendre sur l'état social de ces déportés. Ce sont des faux sauniers, des contrebandiers, des braconniers; ce ne sont pas des bandits. On les place comme *engagés* dans les familles, et ils font si bien que la plupart sont autorisés à faire venir de France leur femme et leurs enfants. Quelques jeunes dévoyés, quelques filles de réputation douteuse vinrent certainement en Canada. Mais on leur faisait la vie dure; filles et garçons devaient s'amender ou bien retourner en France. De nombreux arrêts du Conseil Souverain en font foi. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce sont ces divers éléments qui, combinés ensemble et soumis à des conditions nouvelles, ont formé le type de l'habitant canadien-français. C'est ce type de l'ancien régime que nous voulons faire connaître bien succintement dans une étude aussi restreinte.

Le mot "habitant." D'abord comprenons bien ce que signifie l'appellation *habitant*. *L'habitant* était celui qui prenait une terre, se fixait dans la colonie et comptait y laisser sa vie. A l'encontre des employés de la traite, des fonctionnaires civils, des militaires, il faisait du Canada sa patrie d'adoption. Il vivait sur sa terre et y mourait. Toute sa vie se confinait dans sa famille

et sa paroisse. Tout se passait pour lui autour de la maison et autour du clocher.

La maison de l'habitant. Sa maison est construite de poutres équarries, posées *pièces sur pièces* ou encore de pierres des champs reliées entre elles par du mortier. Le toit, très élancé, est recouvert de chaume ou de bardeaux de cèdres, percé, le plus souvent, de lucarnes. Cette maison est petite de dimension; elle est basse, plus longue que large. Elle n'a ordinairement qu'un étage ou grenier en plus du rez-de-chaussée. L'intérieur est divisé en trois ou quatre pièces au rez-de-chaussée, ne se composant que d'une seule pièce à l'étage supérieur. La pièce principale est la cuisine où l'on vit habituellement. Au centre est placé le grand poêle en fonte où l'on prépare les aliments, et dont le feu ardent suffit à réchauffer la pièce et les chambres à coucher. Un tuyau conduit la fumée à la cheminée qui est presque toujours dans le même appartement que le poêle.

La porte d'entrée principale est pratiquée au centre de l'édifice. Un escalier rustique, fermé au haut par un panneau qui se rabaisse, donne accès au grenier où l'on conserve les vieilles choses et où l'on installe souvent des lits pour les grands garçons. Les fenêtres sont petites; elles sont masquées, au dehors par des contrevents en bois. Au lieu de vitres, on a le plus souvent des carreaux de parchemin. L'ameublement est simple. Sur le parquet, on étend des *catalognes,* tapis rustiques fabriqués à la maison. Dans la cuisine, on trouve partout la grande table, puis la huche, le grand banc des seaux, le buffet où l'on dépose la batterie d'ustensiles, les chaises empaillées et le métier à tisser; au plafond est accroché le fusil avec son sac à plomb et sa corne de poudre; dans les chambres, la couchette très haute avec son ciel-de-lit. Dans toutes les pièces, des portraits des ancêtres, des images pieuses, un crucifix sont suspendus aux murs. On n'a pour s'éclairer que des chandelles de suif fixées dans des chandeliers de fer-blanc ou en cuivre, ou bien des lampes alimentées avec de l'huile de marsouin ou de loup-marin.

Autour de la maison sont les dépendances: la grange où l'automne on entasse la récolte de l'été; l'étable où l'on met les animaux. Grange et étable sont ordinairement réunies en une

seule pièce et forment une construction longue, étroite et, elle aussi, à toit pointu et élancé, recouvert de chaume. L'église rurale ressemble beaucoup à la maison de l'habitant: elle est basse, avec un toit pointu, avec un clocher qui s'élance fièrement vers le ciel. Ce qui frappe surtout c'est la richesse architecturale de son intérieur; le maître-autel, la chaire, le banc d'oeuvre comportent presque toujours de magnifiques décorations en bois exécutées par d'habiles artisans canadiens.

Habillement et Nourriture. Isolé comme il l'est, le canadien est de tout métier: boulanger, charpentier, menuisier, forgeron, cordonnier. Il bâtit lui-même sa maison, sa grange. Tout se prépare à la maison: les mets dont on se nourrit, le pain, le beurre, etc., etc.; les étoffes qui servent à l'habillement, les souliers, les *bottes sauvages*, les *catalognes*, les belles ceintures fléchées. Le costume de l'habitant canadien est sans recherche, mais confortable. Hiver et été, les hommes portent des culottes d'étoffe du pays. En hiver, on endosse la grosse capote de même étoffe, que l'on attache par une ceinture de laine rouge. La plupart se coiffent même en voyage, d'une tuque de laine, rouge dans la région de Québec, bleue dans celle de Montréal, et blanche aux Trois-Rivières. Les femmes sont revêtues de longues robes de laine durant la froide saison; l'été, elles portent un mantelet de couleur bleue ou écarlate et un jupon de couleur différente qui descend à mi-jambe. Un chapeau en paille remplace durant l'été les *capines* de laine en usage l'hiver. Pour la table, on suit presque partout le même régime. De la soupe aux pois, un morceau de lard, du pain de ménage, du beurre et du lait caillé le matin, le midi et le soir. L'habitant canadien connaît la pomme de terre, mais en mange peu. On boit chez les gens de condition du vin au dîner, du bordeaux mêlé d'eau. Le thé est fort peu en usage, mais on fait une grande consommation de café; de même, pour la melasse importée des Antilles. Le couvert se compose d'une serviette, d'une cuillère et d'une fourchette; on ne met pas de couteau sur la table, chacun étant censé avoir le sien dans sa poche.

La culture. La culture de la terre était nécessairement la principale occupation de l'habitant. On besognait fort pendant toute la journée. Le soir venu, on veillait en famille, en s'occupant de

menue besogne—" La mère cousait ou filait, la grand'mère tricotait pendant que les enfants jouaient." Les méthodes scientifiques de culture, le système de rotation, étaient inconnus à l'agriculteur canadien. Il cultivait la même pièce en céréales, sans jamais laisser reposer la terre ni songer à l'engraisser. Les récoltes étaient coupées à la faucille et battues au fléau. L'élevage des bestiaux se faisait sans principes arrêtés, sans soucis. Un habitant qui possède trois ou quatre vaches, une paire de boeufs, quelques porcs est satisfait. En revanche, les chevaux sont nombreux; généralement il y en a un pour chacun des garçons; ils deviennent si nombreux que les administrateurs de la colonie sont obligés de prendre des mesures sévères pour en restreindre le nombre. C'est à qui aura la plus belle bête, le coursier le plus rapide. Le voyageur qui veut faire aller à une belle allure, dit Weld, n'a qu'à vanter les chevaux étrangers. Tout de suite, l'amour-propre de l'habitant est piqué au vif, sa tête s'échauffe, sa colère s'allume, il accable son cheval de coups de fouet, lui crie sans cesse *marche donc* et l'on va de la sorte le train que l'on veut.

La chasse et la pêche. On a reproché à l'habitant canadien son indolence. Il est certain que les longs hivers du Canada étaient l'occasion pour lui d'une oiseveté dont il avait peine à se départir lorsque arrivait la belle saison. Son principal passe-temps était la chasse. Chaussé de raquettes, il s'enfonçait sous les bois, pour y chasser les lièvres, les perdrix, l'original ou le caribou. On se procurait ainsi une nourriture succulente, qui coûtait peu. Le fleuve abondait en poissons de toutes sortes. Chaque famille possédait son canot et ses engins de pêche. La pêche à l'anguille surtout rapportait beaucoup; on en faisait une grande consommation durant le carême. C'est pendant la saison d'hiver que l'on fabriquait les *souliers de boeuf* ou la *botte sauvage,* les colliers de chevaux, les harnais; qu'on faisait le rouissage et le broyage du lin, l'épluchage du blé d'Inde; qu'on moulait les chandelles de suif.

Les veillées. Afin de couper la monotonie des longues soirées hivernales on allait *veiller* chez le voisin. Chacun allumait sa pipe, car le canadien d'autrefois comme celui d'aujourd'hui était un fumeur enragé. Les conversations s'entamaient: elles étaient

naturellement en rapport avec les occupations des habitants; ils causaient de ce qui les touchait de près: les champs, la récolte, les bestiaux, la température. On s'inquiétait peu de ce qui se passait à l'extérieur, on ne parlait pas de politique. D'ailleurs, les anciens Canadiens n'avaient pas de journaux pour leur colporter les nouvelles.

L'instruction. On lisait peu parce qu'on n'avait pas de livres, et aussi parce que la plupart ne savaient ni lire ni écrire. Si les villes, en effet, étaient assez bien pourvues d'écoles, les campagnes en étaient presque vides. En général, l'éducation des filles était plus soignée que celle des garçons; quelques paroisses avaient des écoles tenues par les Soeurs de la Congrégation. Souvent le curé se faisait maître d'école et s'occupait d'enseigner aux garçons les mieux doués, les rudiments des lettres afin de les préparer à faire leurs classes au séminaire, à Québec ou à Montréal. D'ailleurs, où trouver les fonds pour subvenir aux frais de l'instruction de ses garçons, lorsque l'habitant avait peine à nourrir sa nombreuse famille? Comment les retenir aux études lorsque, pressés de pourvoir à leur subsistance, ceux-ci quittaient la maison paternelle, dès l'âge le plus tendre, pour les lointaines expéditions sur mer et sur terre. Charlevoix dit qu'ils s'exerçaient à conduire les canots *dès la bavette.*

Les amusements. Tous les voyageurs ont signalé les manières douces et polies des anciens Canadiens, leur esprit de sociabilité, leur humeur joyeuse et gaillarde. Au repos comme au travail, ils aiment à chanter, à fredonner les vieilles chansons de France apportées au pays par leurs ancêtres. On se visitait souvent pour se réjouir, pour danser, pour manger des fruits de la saison, pour jouer aux cartes.

Les jours de fêtes. Au premier de l'an ce sont les rassemblements de famille. Ce jour-là tout le monde se visite, s'embrasse; on se salue par cette formule si touchante: "Je vous la souhaite bonne et heureuse et le paradis à la fin de vos jours." Le soir du jour de l'an, les jeunes vont prendre le souper chez les vieux parents. Ce souper se prolonge fort avant dans la nuit. Pour cette fois la table est abondamment fournie de jambons roses, d'ap-

pétissants rôtis de porc, de volailles farcies, de belles tartes aux fruits, de *croquignoles* aux reflets dorés. On ne manque pas d'arroser le tout d'un bon petit coup de rhum de Jamaïque. Aux jours gras, c'est-à-dire dans les derniers jours qui précèdent le carême, les visites chez les parents et les amis recommencent. Les soirées, souvent les nuits, se passent en des danses au son du violon et de l'accordéon. Les chansons se succèdent et tous y font chorus. Des jeunes gens affublés de masques et recouverts de costumes excentriques font tout-à-coup irruption au milieu du bal: ce sont les *mardi-gras,* la terreur des enfants qui, en les voyant, se rappellent les histoires de loups-garous, de feux-follets, du diable se mêlant aux convives pour danser lui aussi sa *gigue* ou son *cotillon.*

La guignolée. Une charitable coutume qui vient d'être ressuscitée, surtout dans les villes, était la quête de la *Guignolée.* La veille du premier de l'an, des jeunes, armés de longs bâtons et de sacs, allaient de porte en porte cueillir des étrennes pour les pauvres. Ils accompagnaient leur tournée de chants joyeux dont les échos se répercutaient au loin.

Le charivari. Une autre forme d'amusement, quelquefois fort déplaisante pour ceux qui en étaient le sujet, était le *charivari.* Quand un jeune homme épousait une veuve de beaucoup plus âgée que lui ou un veuf âgé, une jeune fille, des groupes de jeunes gens se réunissaient, et armés de cornes, de vieilles chaudières, de trompettes et d'autres instruments de musique, se dirigeaient vers la maison du nouveau couple et demandaient le paiement d'une taxe qui allait quelquefois jusqu'à cent livres sterling. Si la somme demandée n'était pas payée à cette première sommation, la même cérémonie se renouvelait le lendemain et les nuits suivantes, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin les assiégés, fatigués de ces hostilités, se déterminassent à capituler. On organisait aussi des charivari contre les veuves qui se mariaient trop peu de temps après le décès de leur conjoint.

La religion: le Baptême. Comme on le voit, les anciens Canadiens avaient leurs jours de gaieté, mais ils savaient mêler le sérieux à l'agréable. Tout d'abord, la pratique des devoirs de la religion occupait une place importante dans leur vie. Quelle exactitude à faire les prières du matin et du soir, à la faire faire

aux enfants, à réciter l'Angelus, à fréquenter les sacrements! Les dimanches et les jours de fêtes d'obligation, quelle régularité, pour se rendre à l'église! On y venait de très loin, souvent à cheval en été, les femmes montées en croupe derrière leur mari, en traîneau, l'hiver. Il fallait une bien mauvaise température pour qu'on se crût dispensé non pas seulement d'assister à la messe, mais même aux vêpres. Et remarquez que les fêtes d'obligation étaient très nombreuses: on en comptait trente-trois: toutes les fêtes d'apôtres, deux ou trois fêtes de la sainte Vierge, la Saint-Joseph, la Sainte-Anne, la Saint-François-Xavier, la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, la Saint-Louis, la Saint-Michel, la Saint-Laurent, les lundis et mardis de Pâques et de la Pentecôte. Le signe de la croix était l'arme invincible de ces bons chrétiens: on le leur voyait faire partout et en tout temps. Avant d'entamer un pain on faisait une croix sur ce pain avec le couteau, de même avant d'abattre un arbre, on y faisait une croix avec la hache. Dès sa naissance, l'enfant était porté à l'église pour y être baptisé. C'était une cérémonie qui se répétait souvent dans certaine famille qui comptait quinze et vingt enfants. C'était ordinairement le prétexte d'une réunion de parents et d'amis. La marraine fournissait la robe baptismale de sa filleule.

Le mariage et les noces. Les mariages étaient l'occasion de grandes réjouissances; presque tous les habitants de la paroisse y prenaient part, car ces mariages se faisant entre garçons et filles de la même localité, rien d'étonnant à ce que le nombre des assistants y fut très grand. Il n'est pas rare d'y voir défiler trente à quarante voitures, chargées chacune de trois ou quatre personnes. De grand matin, le futur époux va chercher sa future épouse à la maison; ils montent chacun dans une voiture distincte, accompagnés l'un et l'autre de leur père. Arrivés à l'église, le fiancé et la fiancée sont conduits par la main, par leurs pères respectifs, au pied des balustres, où, en présence du curé, ils s'engagent mutuellement dans les liens du mariage. Après avoir signé les registres, les deux fiancés, devenus mari et femme, montent dans la même voiture, cette fois, et l'on retourne en procession à la maison du père de l'épouse. En entrant à la maison, les mariés s'embrassent et le sont aussi tous deux par leurs parents

et amis. On passe un petit verre de rhum, et l'on se met à table. Le repas terminé, la danse commence; elle est ouverte par le marié et la mariée, le garçon d'honneur et la fille d'honneur. On danse des *cotillons*, des *gigues*, des *menuets* jusqu'au souper. Après le souper, des jeunes garçons, des jeunes filles, que l'on appelle des *survenants*, arrivent pour prendre part à la danse qui se continue jusqu'à minuit. Le lendemain les gens de la noce viennent rejoindre les mariés, et l'on va chez les parents de l'époux où l'on passe la journée à festoyer et à danser. Puis on va chez les plus proches parents de l'époux et de l'épouse, et c'est ainsi que l'on ne fait pas de noces à la campagne sans y consacrer trois ou quatre jours. Tous ceux qui devaient se marier avaient l'habitude d'appeler un notaire pour rédiger le contrat de mariage: c'était une grande cérémonie qui avait lieu ordinairement le dimanche précédant le mariage, et à laquelle étaient conviés tous les parents et amis.

Les enterrements. Lorsque la mort visitait une maison, la nouvelle en était aussitôt portée aux voisins, au curé et aux parents. Le défunt était placé sur un lit dans la meilleure chambre de la maison. Les visiteurs affluaient et à des intervalles rapprochés, les personnes présentes récitaient le chapelet et des prières spéciales. Le cercueil était fait de planches par un menuisier du rang. Au moment des funérailles, le corps était déposé dans le cercueil, mais le couvercle était cloué sur le seuil de la porte de la maison. Quelques hommes vigoureux le chargeaient sur leurs épaules et le portaient ainsi à l'église quelle que fût la distance. Parfois, lorsque la famille avait une calèche, on en enlevait le siège et on transportait le cercueil sur le train de la voiture. L'hiver, on se servait de traînes à billots.

La criée pour les âmes. Nos ancêtres avaient le culte des morts. Ils ne les oubliaient pas. Une touchante coutume qui s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours, est la *criée pour les âmes*. Chaque automne, on fait dans la paroisse une collecte de divers objets, surtout des fruits, des légumes, voire même des animaux, veaux, moutons, porcs engraissés que l'on vend un dimanche à l'enchère, à la porte de l'église. Le produit de la vente est donné au curé

pour faire dire des messes pour les âmes. Ces criées rapportent quelquefois une assez jolie somme.

Le curé. Le principal personnage de la paroisse était le curé. On avait recours à lui non seulement dans les choses spirituelles, mais aussi pour les affaires temporelles. On s'en rapportait à lui dans les questions délicates de vente, de testaments, etc., etc.; il faisait fonction de notaire, de juge de paix et même de médecin. C'est sous sa direction que se bâtissaient les chapelles, les églises, les presbytères. Plein de zèle pour l'éducation de la jeunesse il tenait école dans son presbytère, et c'est lui qui, en jetant les fondations de nos établissements d'enseignement secondaire, prépara l'élite de la race canadienne. Il fut en tout temps l'ami fidèle, l'associé inséparable du colon. Nulle part l'union du clergé et du peuple ne fut plus visible que dans la vie de ces missionnaires qui suivirent les premiers habitants dans la forêt primitive. Ils vécurent leur vie de misères et de privations. Nul, aussi, ne fut plus patriote et, en même temps, plus loyal envers les pouvoirs établis, que l'humble curé de campagne et l'on peut dire, sans crainte d'être taxés d'exagération que c'est grâce à son zèle, à sa loyauté, que le Canada fut conservé à l'Angleterre, aux jours de 1775 et de 1812, lors des invasions américaines. C'est dire que le curé ne formait qu'un seul corps, qu'une seule âme avec ses paroissiens, qu'il était aimé et respecté d'eux.

La dîme. La dîme que lui apportait chaque paroissien suffisait à sa subsistance. On ne payait que la dîme des grains. Fixée d'abord au 13me minot, elle fut portée plus tard au 26me. C'est encore celle qui se donne dans la province de Québec. Vers 1700 quelques curés prétendirent que la dîme devait être payée de toutes sortes de grains et de tous les fruits des arbres et du jardin. Leurs prétentions furent rejetées. Seulement, sous le régime anglais, l'évêque obligea les habitants à payer la dîme des pommes de terre et du foin.

La quête de l'enfant-Jesus. Chaque hiver, après la fête de l'Epiphanie, le curé faisait la visite de chacune des familles de sa paroisse et, en même temps, la quête de l'Enfant-Jésus. Cette visite se faisait pompeusement. D'ordinaire, les trois marguilliers du banc accompagnaient le curé, avec chacun leur voiture. Le

curé prenait place dans la première et on allait de porte en porte. En entrant, le curé donnait la bénédiction aux membres de la famille; après un entretien de quelques minutes, la mère allait chercher une pièce de monnaie qu'elle remettait au curé en la faisant présenter par l'un des petits enfants. Dans les autres voitures on jetait pêle-mêle les menus objets donnés pour l'Enfant-Jésus: des volailles, des briques de lard, de la chandelle, des grains, des pommes de terre. La coutume était de prendre le dîner chez l'un des marguilliers, ordinairement celui du rang que l'on visitait. C'était un dîner de cérémonie; le curé y faisait honneur avec tous les convives. Cette visite pouvait se prolonger durant trois ou quatre semaines, selon l'étendue de la paroisse. Lorsqu'elle était terminée, le curé, à son tour, invitait les marguilliers à venir souper et fumer la pipe avec lui et passer une agréable veillée. Le dimanche suivant on vendait, à la porte de l'église, les objets collectés pendant la visite. Le produit de cette vente était remis à la Fabrique, ou employé en des oeuvres de charité.

La fabrique et les marguilliers. La fabrique et les marguilliers: voilà deux mots qui reviennent souvent dans l'histoire de l'Eglise du Canada. La fabrique c'est le corps des administrateurs chargés de régir les biens et revenus d'une église. Elle se compose du curé, des marguilliers occupant le banc d'oeuvre et des anciens marguilliers. Les marguilliers sont élus chaque année par les paroissiens *tenant feu et lieu*. L'un d'eux est le marguillier en charge; c'est le plus ancien des trois ou quatre marguilliers du banc d'oeuvre. Il exerce ses fonctions comme tel pendant un an; après ce laps de temps, il devient ancien marguillier et ne peut plus se mêler à l'administration directe des biens de l'église. Dans le mois qui suit sa démission, il est tenu de rendre ses comptes, en présence du curé et des marguilliers anciens et nouveaux. Le curé est de droit le président du Conseil de fabrique.

Ce régime particulier à la province de Québec a toujours été en vigueur depuis l'origine de la colonie. Il s'est modifié avec le temps et, malgré les ennuis qu'il a pu causer quelquefois, il a été un lien de cohésion entre le curé et les paroissiens. Le curé

d'autrefois, comme celui d'aujourd'hui, savait s'accommoder aux circonstances de temps et de lieu.

Sa vie s'écoulait dans le vieux presbytère bâti auprès de l'église paroissiale. C'était une longue bâtisse, presque toujours en pierre des champs. Le curé n'en habitait qu'une partie, l'autre servant de salle commune pour les habitants qui y tenaient leurs réunions, ou qui, pendant la saison d'hiver, allaient s'y réchauffer, en attendant que le son de la cloche annonçât la grand'messe. Les églises, en effet, n'étaient pas chauffées; les habitants s'opposèrent pendant longtemps à l'introduction des poêles dans les églises, sous prétexte que la fumée gâterait les dorures. Ils assistaient aux offices emmitouflés dans leurs grosses capotes d'étoffe et la tête couverte d'une calotte. Dans les grands froids, on mettait quelque fois un réchaud sur l'autel pour le célébrant, qui sans cela se serait gelé les doigts. On raconte que le curé d'une paroisse en bas du fleuve avait entouré son autel d'une cloison vitrée. Pour célébrer la messe il s'y enfermait comme en un compartiment. Il y avait ménagé une ouverture et à chaque *Dominus Vobiscum,* il ouvrait la fenêtre, chantait les paroles liturgiques et continuait la messe après avoir refermé la fenêtre. Il nous semble voir ces bonnes gens se dandinant sur leurs pieds pour ne pas geler, crachant et soufflant la vapeur comme des cheminées. Le curé n'en faisait pas moins des prônes qui duraient une heure et demie. On parlait de tout à ces prônes. C'était comme un communiqué des affaires de la paroisse, du pays et même d'Europe.

Préséance dans les églises. La hiérarchie sociale si bien tranchée à cette époque se réflétait jusque dans les églises; chaque personnage y avait sa place marquée; les marguilliers dans une tribune séparée, le capitaine de milice dans un banc réservé, en arrière de celui du seigneur. "Tous ces personnages avaient droit à des privilèges spéciaux très minutieusement détaillés et fixés par des règlements de Sa Majesté et des arrêts du Conseil Supérieur. . . . A certaines fêtes, un ordre de préséance, un protocole scrupuleux s'imposaient. Les cierges, les rameaux, les cendres, le pain bénit, devaient être distribués aux seigneurs haut justiciers tout de suite après le clergé en surplis, puis au capitaine de la côte, puis aux

juges de la seigneurie, avant même les marguilliers et les chantres non revêtus du surplis. . . . Ces règlementations minutieuses n'avaient qu'un tort; c'était d'entretenir copieusement les susceptibilités et l'esprit de chicane. Nos vieux dossiers sont tout pleins de l'écho de ces enfantines querelles." (Abbé Groulx, *Chez nos ancêtres.*)

Le capitaine de milice. Les capitaines de milice ou capitaines de la côte étaient les commandants des troupes levées dans leurs paroisses respectives. Recevant leur commission du gouverneur, ils n'avaient aucun rang dans les troupes régulières. Ils jouaient pourtant un rôle important dans la colonie. En outre de leurs fonctions militaires, ils commandaient leurs concitoyens dans toutes les occasions où il s'agissait du service du roi, tels que travaux publics, transports des troupes, transmission des dépêches, publication des ordonnances. Ils signifiaient aux particuliers les jugements, publiaient les ordonnances de l'intendant et devaient tenir la main à leur exécution.

Le seigneur. Le régime féodal a exercé une influence heureuse sur le développement de la colonie; il a été la source du premier groupement social, en donnant à l'habitant un chef en l'absence de toutes institutions municipales. Le seigneur, en possession du fief, qu'il recevait gratuitement, n'avait qu'une ambition, celle de le peupler. Aussi le voit-on s'employer de son mieux à se trouver des censitaires. Vivant au milieu d'eux, il était leur père et leur protecteur. Ordinairement il se réservait un domaine dans sa seigneurie; il y bâtissait son manoir, puis à côté, le moulin banal. Son principal revenu provenait des cens et rentes payés par ses censitaires. Les taux de ces cens et rentes variaient avec chaque seigneurie; en général, on exigeait du censitaire une à cinq livres de rentes, selon l'étendue de la concession, un à trois chapons vifs par arpent de front, et six à huit sous de cens pour le tout. Ces redevances étaient portables au manoir seigneurial. Chaque automne, vers l'époque de la Saint-Martin, le 11 novembre, les habitants se rendaient soit en *carrioles*, soit en *traînes*, chargées de leurs effets, au manoir. C'était jour de grand gala; le seigneur installé dans le grand salon du château, recevait chacun de ses censitaires, inscrivait dans le censier le total des redevances reçues,

causait pendant quelque temps avec ce roturier, dont il se savait aimé et respecté. Souvent, d'ailleurs, ce seigneur était aussi pauvre et aussi besogneux que le plus petit de ses censitaires.

La plantation du mai. Une fête qui ne manquait pas d'attirer une foule nombreuse était la plantation du mai en face du manoir seigneurial. M. de Gaspé nous en fait une jolie description dans ses *Anciens Canadiens*. " De grand matin, les habitants se réunissent dans la cour du manoir. Ils sont armés comme des gens partant en expédition guerrière. Cependant, c'est une bande joyeuse qui envahit en ce moment les avenues du manoir. Aussitôt arrivée, elle se met à la besogne. Les uns creusent la fosse profonde dans laquelle doit être planté le mai ; les autres lui font une dernière toilette. Ce mai est d'une simplicité primitive ; c'est un long sapin bien droit et bien élancé. Il est ébranché et dépouillé de son écorce, jusqu'à sa cime où l'on conserve un beau rameau vert qui s'appelle le bouquet. A ce bouquet est cloué un baton de six pieds, peint en rouge, couronné d'une girouette et d'une boule de couleur verte. De forts coins de bois enfoncés dans l'arbre, de distance en distance, en facilitent l'ascension et servent aussi de points d'appui aux longues perches appelées *étamperches* dont on se sert pour élever le mai et le mettre en place. Lorsque le mai s'élève dans l'air et domine de sa tête verdoyante les édifices qui l'entourent, la foule le salue d'une décharge générale de mousqueterie. Puis le seigneur, accompagné de sa famille, vient trinquer avec les paysans qu'il invite à sa table." Dans plusieurs campagnes on plante aussi des mais en face de la demeure des capitaines de milice. Ces fêtes populaires ont été remplacées aujourd'hui par d'autres qui sont loin d'avoir leur charme. Elles mettaient de la gaieté dans les campagnes, et cimentaient les liens d'amitié qui existaient entre les différents membres de la communauté.

Les obligations des censitaires. Aussi le censitaire aimait et respectait son seigneur. C'est encore M. de Gaspé qui nous cite un bel exemple de la courtoisie de nos pères envers leurs seigneurs. Le dimanche, lorsque chacun retournait chez soi après avoir assisté à la messe, il était d'usage de laisser passer, en avant d'eux tous.

quelque peu échauffé tire à côté et passe à toute vitesse la voiture de Madame Taché, la seigneuresse. Madame Taché donne ordre à son cocher d'arrêter; elle se tourne du côté de ses gens et demande d'une voix forte: " Quel est l'insolent qui a passé devant moi ? " Un vieillard s'avance, chapeau bas, et dit avec des larmes dans la voix: " C'est mon fils qui est malheureusement en boisson, mais soyez certaine que je l'amènerai faire des excuses et, en attendant, je vous prie de vouloir bien recevoir les miennes pour sa grossièreté." D'ailleurs le régime féodal en la Nouvelle-France n'avait rien de l'assujettissement de celui de l'ancienne France. Les obligations qu'il imposait au censitaire n'étaient pas onéreuses. Nous avons dit que les cens et rentes se réduisaient à fort peu de chose. Le censitaire était propriétaire de son lopin de terre. S'il le vendait, il avait à payer au seigneur le droit de lods et vente, soit le douzième du prix de vente. Il était obligé de porter son grain au moulin banal et d'y laisser le quatorzième minot comme frais de mouture.

Les corvées. Le droit proprement dit de corvée n'existait pas dans la Nouvelle-France. Les journées de travail qu'on exigeait quelquefois ne le furent que pour la construction des chemins royaux. Ces chemins tracés par le grand voyer étaient ouverts par les habitants sous la direction des capitaines de milice. Le censitaire était censé y consacrer cinq ou six jours par année, et pouvait s'en exempter en payant une petite somme qui était loin d'être aussi élevée que la taxe chargée aujourd'hui pour les travaux de voirie. De tout ce que nous venons de dire, on peut conclure que l'habitant avait une vie heureuse. C'était la vie de famille dans tout ce qu'elle a de plus agréable. Le père cherchait à garder ses enfants au foyer; il leur partageait son patrimoine au risque de trop le rétrécir. La loi de primogéniture qui veut que le fils aîné seul hérite du père n'eut jamais force de loi dans la Nouvelle-France. C'est ainsi que l'union se maintenait dans la famille et que les exemples de vertus laissés par les ancêtres se conservaient religieusement dans les foyers canadiens.

Les défauts des anciens canadiens. Est-ce à dire que nos ancêtres étaient sans défaut ? Toute médaille a son revers. Nous mention-

nerons, tout d'abord, leur passion pour les liqueurs enivrantes. Ce malheureux penchant fut en tout temps une plaie sociale, peut-être plus alors qu'aujourd'hui, puisqu'il était singulièrement favorisé par le trafic des pelleteries chez les Indiens. On n'allait pas à la recherche des fourrures, sans une ample provision d'eau-de-vie.

Nos anciens historiens ont signalé la vanité, je dirais l'orgueil des anciens Canadiens. Cette vanité se manifeste surtout dans l'habillement. L'ingénieur Franquet se moque des "fistons de paroisse" ayant "une boucle aux cheveux, une chemise à manchettes et des mitasses aux jambes." Le voyageur Kalm remarque que les dames de Québec s'habillent avec tant de magnificence qu'on serait porté à croire que leurs parents sont revêtus des plus grandes dignités de l'Etat. Nous ne croyons pas, cependant, que le luxe ait été aussi prononcé chez les femmes de la campagne; notre paysanne canadienne s'habillait fort simplement.

La vantardise est une des formes de la vanité chez l'homme. Nos anciens Canadiens ont bonne opinion d'eux-mêmes; ils racontent avec de grands gestes les exploits accomplis dans les expéditions contre les Iroquois, les Anglais, et leurs récits ne sont pas toujours empreints de la stricte exactitude. L'imagination y jouait un grand rôle. "Parmi les vieux, dit l'abbé Groulx, qui contaient admirablement bien, tous avaient fait le voyage des pays d'en haut, s'y étaient empli les yeux de visions uniques, avaient cueilli des aventures sans pareilles, s'étaient fait une histoire. On était fier d'avoir été plus loin que les autres, d'avoir eu des aventures plus extraordinaires, d'avoir couru des dangers plus grands."

Dirons-nous un mot de leur amour des titres honorifiques: Un officier de milice, dit M. J.-Edmond Roy, aurait trouvé inconvenant qu'on ne l'appelle par son titre de colonel ou de major, même si, au moment où on lui parlait, il conduisait sa charrue. Nous savons quelle importance on attachait aux questions de préséance; les places à l'église, l'ordre dans lequel chacun devait offrir le pain bénit, donnaient souvent lieu à des disputes entre seigneurs, marguilliers, officiers de milice, etc., etc. Les procès pour des querelles de ce genre ne manquent pas.

Le goût de la chicane était d'ailleurs une importation de leur pays d'origine, de la Normandie. Nos ancêtres avaient l'esprit processif à l'excès. Les moindres prétextes les amenaient devant les tribunaux. Il faudrait un gros volume pour raconter les procès qui eurent lieu au sujet de l'emplacement de l'église, du presbytère; ces procès duraient souvent des années, provoquaient des inimitiés, des rancunes, qui se perpétuaient dans les familles et dans les paroisses. De là l'esprit de dénigrement, de critique, où la médisance et la calomnie avaient beau jeu. Nous n'en dirons pas davantage sur ce chapitre. Les anciens Canadiens étant des êtres humains avaient nécessairement quelques uns des défauts inhérents à la nature humaine.

La punition des crimes. Toutes ces faiblesses semblent bien atténuées si l'on s'arrête à considérer la haute moralité de la colonie. Le libertinage n'y était pas toléré et le gouvernement se montrait d'une extrême sévérité pour réprimer les délits. Le code pénal de l'époque, tel qu'en vigueur dans l'ancienne France, portait peine de mort contre les meurtriers et les empoisonneurs, et de peines infamantes contre ceux qui se rendaient coupables de larcin et de vol, contre les blasphémateurs, les incendiaires. C'étaient les lieutenants généraux qui jugeaient les causes criminelles; ils étaient tenus d'administrer la justice conformément aux lois; on pouvait appeler de leur sentence au Conseil Supérieur, et, en dernier ressort, au roi de France, en son Conseil d'Etat. Une chose certaine c'est que les peines portées contre les criminels furent appliquées en la Nouvelle-France comme dans l'ancienne, dans toute leur rigueur. Nous en avons de nombreux cas dans les jugements du Conseil Souverain. Nous voyons que pendant toute la durée du régime français les voleurs, ceux coupables de viol, les meurtriers et les empoisonneurs furent condamnés à être pendus, et exécutés avec un appareil bien propre à exciter la terreur. Après l'exécution, le cadavre devait rester attaché à l'échafaud ou à une roue pour y être exposé à la vengeance publique. On pendait même en effigie l'homme jugé par contumace. Le cadavre du suicidé devait être attaché au derrière d'une charrette et traînée sur une claie. Il y a des cas curieux. Ainsi, en

1670, un nommé Gaboury de l'île d'Orleans fut accusé d'avoir mangé de la viande pendant le carême sans avoir demandé permission à l'Eglise. Il fut comdamné à être attaché au poteau publie pendant trois heures, puis, à être conduit à la porte de l'eglise, et là, à genoux, mains jointes et tête nue, demander pardon à Dieu, au Roi et à la Justice, Il devait, en outre, payer une amende de vingt livres applicables aux oeuvres pies de sa paroisse.

En 1733, deux époux accusés d'adultère furent condamnés par l'intendant " à faire amende honorable en chemise, la corde au cou, tenant en main une torche de cire ardente du poids de deux livres, au-devant de la principale porte de l'église cathédrale et là, tête nue et à genoux, déclarer à haute et intelligible voix, que méchamment et frauduleusement ils ont profané et abusé de la sainteté du sacrement de mariage, qu'ils se repentent et demandent pardon à Dieu. Cela fait, ils seront battus et fustigés de verges par l'exécuteur de la haute justice par les carrefours et lieux accoutumés de cette ville, et bannis pour trois ans."

Le blasphémateur était condamné à une amende pécuniaire pour la première faute. Pour les seconde, troisième et quatrième fautes, à une amende double, triple et quadruple. Pour la cinquième fois, il était mis au carcan, pour y demeurer depuis huit heures du matin jusqu'à une heure de l'après-midi, sujet à l'injure et à l'opprobre, outre une grosse amende. Pour la sixième fois il était conduit au pilori et avait la lèvre de dessous coupée; s'il continuait on lui coupait la langue.

Le clergé, lui aussi, ne négligeait pas les moyens propres au maintien de la vertu chez le peuple. Il refusait les sacrements à ceux qui ne voulaient pas obéir aux ordres de l'évêque, qui ne payaient pas la dîme. Dans les cas graves, il prononçait l'excommunication, au nom de l'évêque, contre les coupables. Cette excommunication était lancée publiquement du haut de la chaire. On sonnait la cloche, on éteignait une chandelle pour montrer que le coupable était bien retranché de la communion catholique. Si celui-ci faisait sa soumission, il était condamné à une pénitence publique, ordinairement à rester à la porte de l'église pendant un certain laps de temps, les dimanches et jours de fête. S'il venait

à mourir sous le coup de l'excommunication, son cadavre était privé de la sépulture ecclésiastique et jeté à la voirie.

Que conclure de tout ce que nous avons dit? C'est que les anciens Canadiens menaient une vie vraiment patriarcale. Unis par la même foi, soutenus par la même espérance, animés d'une même charité, ils formaient dans la paroisse comme de petites communautés, où régnaient la paix et le bonheur. La pratique des devoirs religieux s'alliait chez eux à une grande simplicité de vie. Lorsque vinrent les jours de deuil, c'est leur amour du clocher paroissial, leur attachement au clergé, qui les sauva. Passés sous une domination étrangère, ils se retirèrent à l'écart sur leurs terres, tendirent la main à leurs prêtres, et groupés autour de leur église, ils se mirent au travail avec confiance. Ils gardèrent jalousement leur foi, leur langue et leurs traditions, et, tout en étant fidèles à la nouvelle allégeance, ils conservèrent l'empreinte qu'avait laissée en eux la vieille civilisation française.

PIERRE-GEORGES ROY.

MISCELLANY

TENTATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES (1800-1860)

The following bibliography attempts a listing and a classification of all books, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines circulated as anti-Catholic propaganda in the United States between the opening of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the Civil War. Its purpose is to outline the propaganda attaining wide circulation in this country; thus English publications are included only where there is external evidence of such circulation.

The importance of the study of anti-Catholic literature of this period, while long neglected, is clearly recognized by careful students of American church history. The adverse propaganda that the Catholic Church was forced to combat in these years of its rapid expansion shaped its entire course and marked its future history. From this propaganda, too, grew the nativistic parties that played such an important part in American political development, especially the American Republican party of the 1840's and the Know Nothing party of 1850's.

This bibliography makes no claim to being definitive. It is based upon research in a number of libraries in New England: the American Antiquarian Society, the Harvard University library, the Boston Public library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Yale University library, and the Brown University library. The compiler will welcome any additions or corrections.

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Clark University. RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON.

BOOK REVIEWS

Der Grosse Herder. Nachschlagewerk fuer Wissen und Leben. 4. voellig neubearb. Auflage von Herder's *Konversationslexikon.* I. Bd: *A-Battenberg.* 1931. II. Bd: *Batterie-Cajetan.* III. Bd: *Caillaux-Eisenhut.* (Freiburg: Herder. 1932.)

The publication by Herder in Freiburg of *Der Grosse Herder,* the immense new German Catholic Encyclopedia, is a cultural event of outstanding importance and of international interest. Here, for the first time, in language easily understood, accurate, digested, and synthesized information covering the whole field of human knowledge, is brought together in one magnificent set of volumes, to form a reference work in which Catholics can place implicit trust, because it is inspired throughout by the Catholic philosophy of life and is composed with special reference to the daily needs of Catholic readers.

Though nominally announced as the fourth edition of "Herder's Konversationslexikon," *Der Grosse Herder* is in reality a new work, entirely reset and rewritten on a new plan and on a much larger scale, with "a new scheme of construction and arrangement of articles." To enable its readers to find at a glance the particular information desired on any topic, the editors have adopted a novel method of fact-presentation. Every important article is divided into three sections, easily distinguishable by the print, of which the first section contains the general information usually sought for by the average man, the second embodies clear and concise statements of data looked for more particularly by the specialist, while the third suggests practical directions and counsel for dealing with present-day conditions of life and living, be they material, social, intellectual or moral.

A second strongly marked feature of *Der Grosse Herder,* and one that places it far in advance of its predecessors, is the admirable series of "Rahmenartikel" or "boxed articles", which deal accurately and comprehensively with the leading problems of the day, and the most important spheres of actual life,—spiritual, religious, social, commercial, legal, etc., etc.

Four volumes of the new encyclopedia have now appeared. The entire work is to consist of twelve volumes containing about 180,000 distinct entries, with 20,000 illustrations; also, in a separate volume, a world-atlas with 226 new and up-to-date maps of all the countries of the world, a geographical index, and the latest statistical data. A careful examination of the volumes before us will show that in this

new encyclopedia the task of covering the whole field of human knowledge is being performed in an amazingly satisfactory manner. In almost every instance, where tests have been made, the statements were found to be accurate, impartial, reasonably comprehensive and up to date. Where called for, the Catholic position is clearly stated and explained.

The "boxed" articles Abstammungslehre (Theory of Descent), Antisemitismus, Aszese (Asceticism), Baden, Baeder u. Badeorte, in the first volume; Bauen, Bauplan u. Bauweisen, Bevoelkerung, Bildung, Bolschevismus, Buch, in the second; and Christentum, Demokratie, Deutschtum im Ausland, Ehe (Marriage), Eigentum, in the third, are specially admirable. Many of the larger articles not "boxed", such as Aegypten, Afrika, Altar, Benediktiner, Berlin, Deutsche Kunst, Deutsches Reich, are elaborate treatises, and deserve the special attention of the reader. Detailed and interesting information is presented on all the leading cities of the world,—in some instances two supplementary pages with clear illustrations, maps and plans etc., are added. The articles on the Bible, Bibliothek (Library), Christusbild, Dante, though concise, are thorough and scholarly. The numerous and competent biographical notices include also living persons of eminence whose work has had significance. Abundant maps, excellent illustrations, useful summaries of historical data and scientific findings, line drawings, color prints, portraits, charts and diagrams enrich every volume. Every important article is followed by a brief but well-selected bibliography, in which non-German works of value are not overlooked. Throughout these volumes the exposition is clear and concise, but more detailed information is not lacking where there is need of fuller treatment. Strong features especially to be commended are, the inclusion of numerous small subjects in the main alphabet, the clarity and accuracy with which some recent developments in science and art are presented, and the up-to-date information on the history, geography and resources of present-day nations.

The typographical make-up of this new encyclopedia is wholly admirable; the excellent paper, clear print, the accurate reproductions and lavish illustrations,—all combine to give the work that quality of freshness and contemporaneousness that makes an instant appeal. The publishers of *Der Grosse Herder* are to be congratulated on having undertaken the publication of so excellent a work of general reference, which, for Catholics, is unquestionably the most complete and authoritative of all encyclopedias. All the more emphatic, therefore, is the need that it should be owned and used by every library, large and small, and, indeed, by all private persons having some fair working knowledge of the German language.

THOMAS OESTREICH, O. S. B.

Belmont Abbey.

A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration. By J. N. L. Baker, B. Litt., M. A. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. 544.)

This erudite treatise on a subject that never loses its fascination for the historical student by a lecturer in geography in the University of Oxford is modestly presented to the reader as a compilation. It is an attempt, so the author says, to meet the needs of students "reading honours courses in geography in the universities" of England. The work goes far beyond this design; it is divided into two parts; before the nineteenth century; and the nineetenth century and after. There are fifty maps placed at logical points throughout the text, and while the bibliography is short, it is accurately chosen. An Introduction contains a concise geographical view of the Mediterranean world, the explorations by sea and by land up to the time of Ptolemy. Between Ptolemy and the Polos, Professor Baker sees only a period of decay in geographical advance, although due credit is given to the attempts of the envoys, John de Plano Carpini, in 1245, William of Rubruck (1252) and others to reach the Far East. With the Polos (1255-1271) begins the wider knowledge of lands beyond the old imperial boundary lines, and the influence of Marco Polo's account of his journeys is recognized in the later travels of those great Christian missionaries, John of Monte Corvino, Andrew of Perugia, Friar Odoric, and Marignolli during the latter part of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. Traders followed in their wake, but Baker considers this penetration of Asia by Europeans in the century after the journey of Marco Polo merely as an episode, since it had no permanent results:

> It came to an end partly because the conquests of the Turks imposed an intolerant Mohammedanism on the great part of Asia, and partly because the Tartar dynasty was driven out of China in 1370, and thus one factor making for security was removed. Yet it was a remarkable century of expansion, and it records from some of the most interesting and valuable documents in the history of discovery (p. 57).

As an introduction to the voyages of Columbus one chapter describes the geographical knowledge of the Arabs with its indirect influence on the spirit of travel during the Middle Ages, particularly the works of Ibn Khordabeh, Ibn Haukal, Mas'oudi, Edrisi, and Jakout, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Another chapter deals with the sea-route to the Far East as furrowed by the Portuguese sailors from 1415 to the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1497, and from that year until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when in 1580 "the union with Spain, the smallness of their numbers in the East, the vigour and persistence of the attack of other European nations, and the counter-attractions of

South America must all be considered as factors in the decay of the Portuguese Empire" (p. 74).

Meanwhile these counter-attractions had been inaugurated by the discovery of the New World by Columbus and his immediate successors between 1492 and 1500. Chapters in serried form now follow the Age of Columbus. The colonization of the New World by the Spaniards, the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, the alternative route to Asia, the exploration of northern, central and southern Asia, and the beginnings of the French and English colonies on the American mainland bring the history of geographical advance to the end of the eighteenth century.

The second part of Baker's work is devoted to the advance of the science of geography from the beginning of the nineteenth century to our own day. Every part of the known world is described, until we read the latest polar expeditions with which we are all familiar. One chapter (XV) describes the explorations and settlement of Canada, the United States, Mexico and Central America, Alaska and South America during these years—the section on Canada is exceptionally well-written and is one of the most interesting parts of the work. It is needless to add that the last page of this history of geographical discovery and exploration bears the honored name of Admiral R. E. Byrd.

The history of geographical discovery and exploration says Baker in his conclusion, "shows no continuous progress, but a series of advances followed by periods of inactivity or of actual retrogression" (483). He gives a final synopsis of the various motives back of the advancing pioneers; among these is religion. "Less conspicuous," he writes, "because less ostentatious, is the motive of religion. Missionary enterprise has contributed greatly to the spread of geographical knowledge. The achievements of the Catholic missions in the New World, in Abyssinia and in Asia . . . are a few examples of this important aspect of geographical discovery" (485). An index of almost fifty pages makes Professor Baker's volume a ready-reference book for the student who is beginning the study; to the finished scholar or to one who is fairly familiar with the field, the book will prove stimulating and inspiring.

P. G.

Survivals of Roman Religion. By Gordon J. Laing. [Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series.] (New York: Longmans. 1931. Pp. xiii, 257.)

This is one of the books that simply had to be in such a series, though its subject is full of mischief. The author has succeeded in satisfying nobody, probably, and least of all his own high standard of objectivity. The lacunae in the evidence are so numerous and loyalties, possibly unconscious loyalties, in both author and reader can do so much with these

lacunae—loyalties to religious beliefs and survivals of beliefs and to scholarly theories, such as the theory of continuity, for instance.

Not merely the survivals of the old Roman religion are presented. Every sect and religious practice which left discernible traces in Ancient Rome and that left or appears to have left traces in aftertimes is considered. The range of subjects treated is therefore enormous and the amount of erudition implied in the effort of presentation appalling. Identities, parallels, coincidences, bare suggestions of similarity between old practices and new are garnered for the volume and the fact that neither author nor reader can in many cases be certain as to which of the four labels is appropriate should not be imputed to Professor Laing. He represents the present level of science in his subject all the way from certainties to thinnest possibilities. Had he confined himself to what has been demonstrated, he would have written a very slight volume indeed and would have misrepresented his field in three of its major current characteristics—its discursiveness, guess-work, and confusion. To the reviewer it seems that Professor Laing is beyond the present level in his field, for although he is obviously without sympathy for what he judges to be contemporary survivals, he is at great pains to be cautious in his statements. Unlike many of his fellow-craftsmen he distinguishes between survivals and parallels. He tries always to remember that what appear to be survivals of Roman religion may in many cases be independent manifestations of an impulse that is universal, which have assumed a form essentially like the Roman because factors essentially the same as those which obtained in Roman antiquity have conspired again to produce them. Repeatedly he absolves the Catholic Church by drawing a sharp line between what the Church teaches and what the more animistic of her adherents tend to practice. He sums up his point of view by the statement that his "subject is not survivals of paganism in the modern Church, but survivals in modern times."

For most men, at most times, these distinctions between doctrine and practice are at best logical distinctions. Professor Laing indicates as much by his abundant references to the religious conduct of others through the centuries. But he suffers an occasional lapse of his own from the rigidity of his distinctions and involves a teaching Church with her erring children even as the erring children confuse her doctrine with their practices. He thus repeats frequently a willy-nilly theory of ecclesiastical accommodation to pagan practices that implicates the teaching office of the Church in his discussion of Transubstantiation, for instance, on pp. 168-169. And he undertakes to tell us on page 121 just how Our Saviour and St. Paul would have regarded "the doctrine of the veneration of the Saints." Such excursions and digressions are utterly gratuitous; they

have nothing to do with a sober recital of survivals that has ruled out in advance the Church. To the reviewer it seems that the Church cannot be thus ruled out and that the author's attempt to do so is an evidence of good will rather than of forthright thinking. The author's private information on the mind of Our Saviour and St. Paul, furthermore, is written in the indicative, not the subjunctive mood. And there is a leap in logic on page 8 which is probably beyond the powers of most of us, wherein the author shows how the *Sermones sacri* of Aristides "demonstrates the facility of the transition from the old to the new." That Aristides' work does thus demonstrate can be accepted, but Professor Laing's explanation thereof is puzzling.

The undocumented statement may be due in some cases to the small format into which the essay had to be squeezed, but the encroachment of the indicative upon the province of the subjunctive is but following a time-honored tradition in the field of Comparative Religion. That Professor Laing breaks with this tradition so often is one of the many commendable features of his book.

JAMES MARSHALL CAMPBELL.

The Catholic University of America.

The Development of the League of Nations Idea. Documents and Correspondence of Theodore Marburg. Edited by JOHN H. LATANÉ. (New York: Macmillan. 1932. 2 vols. Pp. xv, 886. $8.00.)

This is a highly important contribution to the history of the genesis of the League of Nations. The studies, and discussions which paved the way for the creation of that institution may properly be said to have begun at a dinner given by Mr. Hamilton Holt at the Century Club of New York, January 25, 1915, when about a dozen gentlemen met to consider some kind of an organization of the world for peace. From that and from some ensuing dinner conferences there sprang the society called The League to Enforce Peace, whose activities would seem to have started earlier and to have been more highly organized and financed, more comprehensive and more effective than those of any of the similar groups formed in the later years of the war at home or abroad. Mr. Theodore Marburg was from the outset one of the most devoted and indefatigable workers for the League to Enforce Peace, and was chairman of its Foreign Organization Committee. No one else, perhaps, was more closely in touch both with the working out of the ideas subsequently embodied in the Covenant of Paris or with the campaign to win over public opinion. Hence the collection of documents which Professor Latané has edited affords a far clearer insight into the history of the League of Nations movement from 1915 to 1919 than we had hitherto received.

The two volumes before us consist principally of Mr. Marburg's correspondence with a host of friends, in the main co-workers, in this country and in Europe. A number of these letters scarcely seem significant enough to deserve publication; but many others arouse deep interest, especially those exchanged with such persons as Lord Bryce, Lord Balfour, Viscount Grey, M. Briand, President Wilson, ex-President Taft, Mr. Elihu Root, etc., etc. A large part of the second volume is made up of documents which include almost every plan for a league of nations that came up for discussion prior to the Peace Conference.

This wealth of materials shows very clearly that the League constructed at Paris in 1919 was no hasty improvisation but the product of years of study and discussion. It also shows that the study and discussions were most actively and intensively carried on in this country: that the League of Nations is, in the main, an American product. There was, however, a good deal of activity for the cause in England; a little in France, Holland, and elsewhere; practically none in Italy. How widespread the campaign was in this country is illustrated by a letter of May, 1917, in which Mr. Marburg wrote (vol. I, p. 300):

> The League [to Enforce Peace] has an organization in this country closely resembling that of a great political party. It extends all over the United States and its activities are subdivided in States, counties, and even towns. From Jan. 1, 1915, to Mar. 30, 1917, $112,505.86 was expended in propaganda. In the week ending Feb. 1917, the New York office received 2,355 newspaper notices about the League.

It is significant to note that from the very beginning, from 1915 on, the greatest fear of the friends of the League both here and abroad was as to the probable antagonism of the United States Senate, ever hostile to treaties which in any way impair its freedom of action. Mr. Marburg wrote to Taft December 2, 1915: "I realize fully that Judge Parker's task, that of organizing the country so as to influence the action of the United States Senate, is the real task before the League" (vol. I, p. 87). That task was not successfully accomplished, and perhaps, with merely human resources, it could not be.

R. H. Lord.

St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass.

A History of Christian Thought. Vol. I: *Early and Eastern from Jesus to John of Damascus.* By Arthur Cushman McGiffert. (New York, London: Charles Scribners Sons. 1932. Pp. xiv, 352. $3.00.)

Few works on the history of the development of Christian thought are more clearly written than this, the first of two or more volumes which will present a lifetime of earnest study. Unfortunately one can not subscribe to the very naturalistic interpretation which the author offers;

thus, Jesus is said to have looked forward to a new and better age, in a more spiritual form, to be sure, than His contemporaries did. This better age Jesus was convinced was immediately at hand. Wherever He may have got the conviction, whether it came to Him gradually as He studied the prophets and reflected upon the evils of His times, or from some external influence, like the preaching of St. John the Baptist, it prompted Him to consider Himself called upon publicly to proclaim God far and wide. The thought of St. Paul and the early Greek Fathers is analysed in accordance with this view of the mission of Jesus. Dr. McGiffert, furthermore, concerns himself almost too exclusively with doctrinal developments to warrant giving the book the general title it bears. Among the notable omissions in the select bibliography accompanying this volume is Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise.*

F. J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Dritter Teil: *Reformation und Gegenreformation.* Von HEINRICH HERMELINK und WILHELM MAURER. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. (Tübingen; J. C. B. Mohr. 1931. Pp. xi, 395. M.13.50.)

This history of the Reformation and Counter Reformation by two Marburg professors is the third volume of the well known Protestant church history published under the general editorship of Gustav Krüger. It is of considerable interest to Catholic students of history because it shows how the events of one of the most momentous periods mirror themselves in the minds of two rather orthodox Lutheran scholars.

The authors divide their subject into three parts. The first, 1450-1517, tries to show how during the decline of the Middle Ages the great revolt was prepared by the conditions in Church and State as well as by the peculiar mentality resulting from the Humanistic movement and the unusual tendencies in the mysticism of that age. The second part, 1517-1560, by far the longest and most detailed, is devoted to the personality of Luther, the origin of his revolt and its spread through German and non-German lands. Calvin receives a fair amount of space, but the Reformation in the British Isles is treated rather briefly and somewhat superficially. One gets the impression that the authors considered it vastly less important than the continental movement. The Counter Reformation, the rise of the numerous divisions and sects within the Protestant camp, and the religious wars form the subject of the third part. The story is carried beyond the Thirty Years' War, the Stuart Period, and the Cromwellian age to the middle of the reign of Louis XIV and to the coming of William of Orange to England.

Without doubt the work shows unusual erudition and uncommon skill in presenting a large and tangled mass of facts in a well-ordered manner. The method of giving first a brief outline of a chapter and of treating in smaller print various points that seem worth while has much to recommend it. Without breaking the thread of the narrative it gives the treatment considerable elasticity so that teachers and students according to time and taste may devote more or less attention to particular phases. The bibliography is rich and on the whole well selected. Also the Catholic historical literature is well presented. But one cannot suppress the doubt that it has not always been consulted, for one meets rather frequent misconceptions of Catholic teaching and practice. The remarks on Catholic mysticism occurring in various chapters show that the authors scarcely took pains to acquaint themselves with the subject. St. Teresa's "flight of spirit" (*vuelo de espiritu*) is said to work itself out in the lethargy of sweet half-slumber. The art of guiding souls, taught in the Exercises of St. Ignatius, is supposed to consist in the skilful management of the emotions and imagination, exciting or assuaging them according to the need of the moment. One wonders by what strange mental processes the authors came to call the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Immaculate Conception a *Vergröberung der Frömmigkeit* (p. 368), rendering piety more crude. And where did they find probabilism defined as the system which advises the penitent "not to follow the voice of conscience but the probably correct opinion of any teacher" (p. 312)?

It is but just to add that not infrequently unstinted praise is given to outstanding Catholic personages, such as St. Francis de Sales, St. Peter Canisius, and the Fathers of the Council of Trent. Too often, however, sinister motives of self interest and of lust of power are suspected where zeal for souls adequately explains certain measures and policies. But perhaps we should not judge the authors too harshly, for the sixteenth century presents only too many examples of the type that manages to cover an unholy ambition with the cloak of piety and zeal for the honor of God.

ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

The Creighton University, Omaha, Nebr.

Saints and Heroes of the Christian Church. By C. P. S. CLARKE, M. A. (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co. 1931. Pp. viii, 272-6.)

This is a book of brief sketches of forty-four of the lesser known saints and Christian heroes, principally drawn from the records of Irish, British or Saxon hagiography. The purpose, so states the author, is to furnish story material to preachers and teachers for their inspirational talks. The stories, however, are often so fantastic that amusement rather

than edification would seem to be the more certain result. The writer makes little effort to achieve a critical attitude toward the wonders told in the lives of many of these saints. This would seem to be a defect, for the patent absurdities of such legends will suggest doubts about the really authentic accomplishments of the saints.

The author's approach to the study of saints is hampered by certain prepossessions. For instance, his view of a miracle is quite incorrect; for him a miracle is hardly more than the result of suggestion. Given certain circumstances of time, place, certain emotional attitudes on the part of the healer and the one to be healed, a miracle results. There is nothing supernatural about such a "miracle." No doubt in the early ages of Christianity one may find among groups here and there traces of Manichaeism, but never in the lives, practices and teachings of the real, authentic saints. It bespeaks a modern erroneous viewpoint to say that in the early ages the Church was striving towards a solution of the sex problem. She possessed the complete solution from the beginning. One is surprised to find the view that the saint is possessed by God in a fashion similar to the way in which unfortunates are possessed by the devil. No saint, no matter how great his absorption in the love of God ever lost the freedom of his will, even those confirmed in grace, and they after all were only a handful.

The spelling of the birthplace of St. Patrick according to the *Confessions* (Rolls Text of the Tripartite, emended by Dr. White) is not "Benneventum Taberniae" but "Bannaveum Taberniae." That the author is an Anglican clergyman no doubt explains his untenable view of the development of the Celtic Church independently of Rome.

Boston College. MARTIN P. HARNEY, S. J.

The Devil in Legend and Literature. By MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 354. $3.00.)

Mr. Rudwin tells us that his book is the result of many years of research in the legends and literatures of Semitic, Teutonic, Romanic, and Slavic peoples. In the investigation of this vast field he has endeavored to maintain the impartiality of a strictly historical method. For the most part he has succeeded in this aim. Whether the Diabolus is an actually existing being capable of influencing human lives and earthly affairs or is merely a symbol for the unceasing struggle between good and evil in the world, we are left to our own judgment to conclude. The fact of evil no one denies. It is in the ultimate explanation that the modern mind thinks it has advanced far beyond the grotesque credulity of other days. If, however, the weight of a persistent and universal tradition has any significance, the devil must be acknowledged as a very real sort of a person.

As a history of what men have thought and said on a particular subject, the work has much interest and value. On the other hand, in many generalized statements regarding Christian and especially Catholic belief and practice, the author is far from being accurate. Too often the vagaries of certain Christian sects have been accepted as the teachings of authentic Christianity. Opinion has not always been carefully distinguished from conviction. Writings of individuals, popular legends, local superstitions have been mistaken, at times, for the correct expression of the official creed of the Church.

FRANCIS E. KEENAN, S.J.

Woodstock, Md.

Kirchengeschichte auf Grund des Lehrbuches von F. X. Funk. Neubearbeitet von KARL BIHLMEYER. *Erster Teil: Das christliche Altertum.* Pp. xx, 306. *Zweiter Teil: Das Mittelalter.* Pp. xvi, 384. (Neunte, verbesserte Auflage, Paderborn, Schöningh. 1931-1932.)

The 9th edition of the first two parts of this well known manual are essentially reprints of the 8th (*Erster Teil*, 1926; *Zweiter Teil*, 1931). A few minor changes and corrections are incorporated into the text, while a select bibliography covering the publications of the years 1925-1931 appears immediately after the table of contents in each volume. This arrangement causes some inconveniences, yet in view of the high cost of printing it can be pardoned. Dr. Bihlmeyer has made every effort to keep the manual abreast of the most recent researches, and in its latest form it should continue to serve most students and specialists as a reliable and up to date compendium of ready reference. For as such a compendium indeed must the work be judged, in its last editions, rather than as a readable manual of Church History. The attempt at comprehensiveness within a limited number of pages has reduced the narrative in many places below what one should fairly consider the necessary minimum.

Of the two parts under review, the *Zweiter Teil* is of the greater value at this time. In spite of its brevity, it is an up-to-date, scientific survey of medieval Church history that fills a real need among medievalists—a need which will only be met adequately by the volumes on the Middle Ages now being written as a part of the great *Kirchengeschichte* edited by Monsignor Kirsch. For the history of the Church in antiquity, the *Erster Teil* of the present manual will certainly give place among many students as well as scholars to the splendid volume on this period written by Monsignor Kirsch himself as the first part of the work mentioned.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

The Catholic University of America.

Papsturkunden in England. I. Band. *Bibliotheken und Archive in London.* I. *Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreibungen.* II. *Texte.* Von Dr. WALTHER HOLTZMANN. [Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. N. F. Bd. XXV, 1-2.] (Berlin: Weidmann. 1930-1931. Pp. 658.)

In 1926 Paul Kehr invited Dr. Holtzmann of the University of Berlin to take part in his monumental work of editing the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ante 1198.* As Dr. Holtzmann was given a free choice for his field of investigation, he decided upon England, because he felt that there was undoubtedly much valuable material still hidden away in English archives and libraries. The present volume is ample evidence that his choice was a most happy and fruitful one, although imposing upon him a task fairly bristling with difficulties and problems.

In beginning his search for papal letters in England Dr. Holtzmann soon found that the situation regarding monastic archives was quite different from that on the Continent, where such archives in spite of the vicissitudes of time have in general tended to preserve their identity. The confiscation and secularization of monasteries which reached its culmination under Henry VIII was fatal to the monastic archives of England. The vast majority of papal letters in the possession of monasteries were destroyed, and the remnants of such materials must now be sought in cartularies and other documents scattered through all kinds of public and private collections. It is hardly necessary to observe that when such papal letters are now recovered they are usually in the form of copies, the originals having been destroyed or lost.

Confronted by this fundamental difficulty Dr. Holtzmann was forced to give up his original plan of first publishing texts, and then of giving a survey of all the material relating to a given recipient. He has confined himself, as Kehr has done in part in his investigation of Italian sources, to an indication and description of the manuscripts and archives in which he has found materials, and to the publication of such documents as are not mentioned at all in Jaffé-Löwenfeld, or were known to these scholars only through the Ms. tradition. Dr. Holtzmann thus hopes eventually to secure a basis upon which, in the *Britannia pontificia,* the reconstruction of the monastic archives can be attempted.

The volume under review presents the materials found in London. Part I contains a compact but clear introduction on the monastery archives of England, and then proceeds with a careful description and classification of the places and materials in which papal documents were discovered. The following were investigated in order: the Public Record Office, the British Museum, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the College of Arms, and the Society of

Antiquaries. Part II contains the texts of 346 letters accompanied by the necessary introductions. In view of the fate of the archives, it is not surprising to find that only 46 of these documents could be published after the text of a certain original. Within the next few years Dr. Holtzmann hopes to publish in a second volume the material from the cathedral archives and libraries, and in a third and final volume, that from Oxford and Cambridge, from private archives, and what is left to be presented from London.

Dr. Holtzmann is acquitting himself of an extremely difficult task in a manner worthy of the best standards set by Paul Kehr himself. His work is of epoch-making importance, as it is adding many a connecting link to our history of the relations between the Papacy and England in the Middle Ages. Scholars can only look forward with great eagerness to the appearance of the two remaining volumes projected.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

The Catholic University of America.

The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, especially in Secondary Education in the United States. By WILLIAM J. MCGUCKEN, S. J., Ph. D. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. xxi, 352. $4.00.)

The student of educational history will find in this work a careful study of Jesuit secondary education in America. The author prefaces his study with a comprehensive outline of the origin, aim, and traditions of Jesuit education. The *Ratio Studiorum*, in which the origins of Jesuit pedagogy lie, is traced from the first attempts of the Society in the sixteenth century to bring about unity in its educational activity and from a number of educational influences at that time which aided Jesuit teachers and administrators in producing a particular type of education, the Jesuit type.

The *Ratio Studiorum* is a great educational document; conservative, yet adaptable. This mighty instrument was the authoritative plan of studies and was to fashion the spirit and method of teaching in the Jesuit system of education. When the Society yielded to time and widened its curriculum, this was quite in keeping with the elastic control which the *Ratio* was intended to exercise. The revised *Ratio* of 1832, although making more provision for the study of the vernacular, history, and the natural sciences, retains the essentials and fundamental principles of the *Ratio* of 1599.

To the *Ratio*, curriculum and methodology are accidental. The curriculum of the present day Jesuit high school differs very little from the

classical course of the public high school. As the author states, the curriculum in Jesuit secondary schools in the United States would be quite unrecognizable by the framers of the *Ratio*. Regardless of time and place, however, there is one clear-cut objective of the Jesuit system of education, whether it be secondary or higher education, and that is that the educational training must be uncompromisingly Catholic. Religion must permeate the whole atmosphere of the Catholic school and the intellectual training must be surrounded by Catholic principles and practices.

The development of the American Jesuit high school is traced from the gymnasium type of school to the conventional American high school. The curriculum, extracurricular activities, the training of the teacher, administration, discipline and finance, all find worthy treatment from the historical standpoint at the hands of the author.

The book should be useful to the teacher and administrator as a reference work on pedagogy and to the student of educational history as a digest of Catholic secondary education in this country.

FRANK P. CASSIDY.

The Catholic University of America.

Life of Mendel. By HUGO ILTIS. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1932. Pp. 336.)

By the biologist and the general reader, by the cleric and the layman, this book will be eagerly read. In it the author sincerely endeavors to present to us the real Mendel, not simply the biologist, engrossed with his experiments with plants and absorbed in his compilation of facts and figures, but the wide-awake and alert boy, the eager pupil, the patient hard-working student, the zealous teacher, the keen scientist, the conscientious cleric. As we read we seem to see Mendel passing through the successive stages of his career. By setting forth in orderly sequence the data, gathered with great care for the writing of this book, the author enables the reader to understand the life of this wonderful man and to evaluate for himself those influences that had most to do with the moulding of his character and the shaping of his career.

The text is well written and few errors of fact or statement of facts are to be found in it. On page 149, however, is a palpable error. Here we read: "Since it depends exclusively upon chance which kind of pollen cell and which kind of ovule encounter one another and unite to form a gamete etc." Now, Mendel worked with plants whose pollen cells and ovules never come into contact and even in those plants where this contact does occur (gynosperms) the pollen cell and ovule do not "unite to form a gamete."

It is always a difficult task for a biographer to hold strictly to an impersonal presentation of the facts and to refrain from attributing to his subject characteristics that are, in reality, only the biographer's interpretation of the facts. On page 233 in connection with his discussion of Mendel's account of the tornado and the scare it gave some women working in a vineyard at the time, the author says: "He ridicules belief in the devil—and as for God Almighty, of that worthy he makes no mention. He does not refer to the omnipotence of the deity, though such reference might have seemed appropriate to the occasion of the tornado; there are no unctuous allusions to the unfathomable purposes of the Creator. In none of Mendel's writings do we find pious reflections such as were still customary in his day when clerics (and even laymen) were describing natural phenomena." If there is anything in Mendel's writings that justifies the statement that Mendel ridiculed belief in the existence of the devil the author failed to quote it in this text. As for the fact that in his scientific writings Mendel makes no mention of God, no "unctuous allusions" or "pious reflections", we need only ask "Why should he?" He was a scientist writing on scientific subjects for men of science to read. The fact that he does not do these things can in no wise be held to cast suspicion upon his sincerity or integrity as a priest and prelate.

J. B. PARKER.

The Catholic University of America.

St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times. By LOUIS PONNELLE and LOUIS BORDET. Translated by Ralph Francis Kerr of the London Oratory. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. xxiv, 609.)

This excellent study owes its inception to the enthusiastic affection of Abbé Ponnelle towards St. Philip. For fifteen years he labored examining sources and collecting material. A tragic death on the battlefield in 1918 cut short his work after five chapters of the life had been written. His friend and confidant during all these years of preparation, the Abbé Bordet, took over the work thus left uncompleted.

The supernatural development of St. Philip and his gradual coming into prominence in the Roman world as a spiritualizing factor, is carefully traced against the background of his times. The early history of the Roman Oratory as a means for true and substantial religious reform, together with the slow unfolding of the idea of establishing a permanent Congregation to regulate and direct this most important work, forms a considerable part of the book.

The treatment is classical—that is, objective and factual rather than psychological and impressionistic. Consequently the "modern mind" will

not find it as captivating as some of the ecclesiastical biographies that have lately appeared in the English speaking world. But it gains in accuracy of presentation what it loses in interest stimulation.

The authors have aimed at giving us the human appeal of St. Philip without running into the extreme of completely desupernaturalizing him. In this they have succeeded well. However to this reviewer they do not seem to have been as equally successful in surrounding St. Philip with that great charm of personality which he unquestionably possessed. The work is everywhere well documented, has a detailed table of contents and a complete index of names. It promises to remain for a long time the classic biography of the sixteenth-century Apostle of Rome and authentic reformer.

FRANCIS E. KEENAN, S. J.

Woodstock, Md.

The Life of Bishop Hedley. By J. ANSELM WILSON, D. D. Foreword by by J. Edmund Matthews, Abbot of Ampleforth. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1930. Pp. xi, 387.)

Bishop Hedley's title to fame is derived from his writings rather than from his administration, careful though it was, of a diocese. Ever since his death in 1915 a biography had been eagerly looked for by all, who, knowing and highly regarding his written works, were naturally desirous to learn something of the practice of the preacher. His writings on spiritual subjects leave on the devout reader's mind an unmistakable impression that they are reflexions, but scarcely veiled echoes, of an intense inner life. As in the inspired treatise of St. Luke, containing the things which Jesus began to do and to teach, so will it ever be with all religious teachers, who bring forth fruit in patience, in order to be counted among those successors of Christ and the apostles who speak as having power, not as the scribes and pharisees, the doing must precede the teaching. A man's living serves to illuminate and invigorate his speaking and writing.

However, the reading of this biography leaves one with a sense of disappointment that it had not been undertaken by a man of Abbot Butler's calibre and penetration. Dom Cuthbert Almond, a man of recognized literary ability, who began the task, fell sick and died. Dom Anselm Wilson, a close friend of half a century, who endeavored to assemble the scattered materials, also was interrupted by broken health. Finally, several members of the Bishop's Benedictine family co-operated in the completion of the *Life* now presented to the public, and have achieved all the success which could be expected in the circumstances. If Bishop Hedley's admirers are not given to see him worthily pictured in his times, they should be grateful for the sympathetic sketches of his

personality, his work and his influence which the book under review supplies.

Besides a narrative of the chief events of his life, considerable attention is paid to his correspondence, his zeal for high moral and intellectual standards for the pastoral clergy, and his tender solicitude for the spiritual welfare of cloistered women. There is a chapter on the bishop's books, which endeavors to grade them in importance, giving first place to a correlated group of sermons of high apologetic value, called *The Christian Inheritance.* From this judgment some critics may venture a dissent, in favor of the well-known work entitled *Bishop Hedley's Retreat,* which by reason of its presentation of dogma as the inspiring basis of conduct, its organic unity and comprehensiveness, as well as its gentle and strong unction, is not only the most popular of his books, but perhaps also the one destined to exert the greatest and most lasting influence.

DOM BENEDICT BROSNAHAN, O. S. B.

St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C.

Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787 . . . Translated into English, edited and annotated by ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1932. Pp. xvii, 420. $5.00.)

Before the restless pioneer of the Atlantic seaboard pushed beyond the mountains and across the great Mississippi basin to the Rockies and ultimately to the Pacific, the Spaniard had traversed the immense stretches between Mexico City and the great plains to the north and northeast and had planted outposts as far north as California and as far east as Texas. The epic story of those glorious years in which subjugation of the natives and conversion to Christianity rather than extermination was the goal is patiently being reconstructed. Of the many figures that stand out in the Spanish advance one of the last but not the least is that of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, who after his services in California came to New Mexico.

It is with the work of Governor Anza in New Mexico that the present volume deals. It supplements the splendid edition of Anza's diaries and sources for his California activities just published by Bolton. The name is suggestive and well chosen, the book is attractively presented, and the material well selected. The text, which covers the years between 1777 and 1787, is made up of the translation of various diaries, communications, and other pertinent documents. These are preceded by a brief but comprehensive introduction in which the problems confronting the new governor and the importance of the Indian question are ably sketched.

Unfortunately the book is marred by some glaring inconsistences both in the arrangement of the notes and the presentation of the material. In the introduction the editor's notes are properly placed at the foot of each page, but in the text where they are most needed to help and guide the reader they are omitted, being placed separately at the end of the book. The introduction, though supposedly a unit, is divided into two chapters, but there is no indication of the second chapter in the table of contents. In the presentation of the various documents some are preceded by individual title pages and others—some of which seem to require it—are left without any (pp. 87, 121). More serious is the carelessness of the editor in his sentence structure which often makes the translation of the original documents awkward as a result of too great an effort to follow the Spanish word by word. One example will suffice:

> San Diego de los Indios Xemes, is distant from Santa Fe twenty-four leagues to the northwest. It is situated at the foot of some ranges of hills on the bank of a little stream which rises in the valley to the north of the pueblo. It runs to the south as far as the pueblo, then passes around the west, finally flowing into the Rio Grande. It has abundant and fertile cultivated fields. . . .

The use of *impenetration* for penetration, *resolve* for solve, *attended* for considered and numerous other instances are all examples of the undue influence of the original Spanish upon the translator. A few errors have been noted in the bibliography. Although in the text there are several references to *Documentos para la historia de Nuevo México,* volume II (Mexico, 1856), this work does not appear in the general bibliography. Is the reference to *Documentos para la historia de México,* 3d series? To the best of our knowledge the work cited by the editor does not exist.

The volume, in spite of its shortcomings from an editorial point of view, constitutes a welcome addition to the source materials for the history of the great Spanish Southwest.

C. E. Castañeda.

University of Texas.

Histoire de Belgique. By H. Pirenne. Vol. VII: *From the Revolution of 1830 to the War of 1914.* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin. 1932. Pp. xii, 416.)

H. Pirenne, the foremost pupil of Godfrey Kurth, the father of the scientific teaching of history in Belgium, was professor of history at the State University of Ghent, Belgium. He is the author of seventeen works on various phases of the history of Belgium. His principal work is *Histoire de Belgique.* This work has been translated into German by F.

Arnheim, Gotha, 1899-1913; and into Flemish by R. Delbecq, Ghent, 1902-1929.

H. Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique*, is the result of 35 years of ardous work. Though not a work of original research among the sources of history, it is a valuable historical synthesis of all that had been published on the subject. The author, however, has not produced a mere compilation of facts. He has known how to group events, pointing out causes and effects, discovering beneath the facts an uninterrupted continuity of national aspirations and tendencies. The result is a well balanced and harmonious whole, a definitive proof that the Belgian nationality has existed for a thousand years.

The author professes to write "as a simple observer," of partisan struggles and national movements. Opinions and judgments, if frequently expressed in this work, are given mostly in the words of an opponent. Sometimes, the author forgets his rôle of "simple observer." Thus, for instance, pages 298-300, H. Pirenne calls the new school law of 1884, voted by the Catholics on the morrow of their triumph to restore Christian instruction in schools, "A Law of Revenge," a reactionary law, "a shameful capitulation before the Church." "Instruction," he writes, "which was to bring about the uplifting of the people, was going to result but in keeping them under the yoke of degrading bigotry." Such language must sound harsh in Belgium, where the Catholic schools, colleges, and university, more than hold their own in competition with so called neutral schools, colleges and universities; in a country where a few years ago, in a national competition for the most scientific work by a Belgian author, Cardinal Mercier was awarded the gold metal, unanimously, by a jury composed of professors of the four Belgian universities.

Such utterances of H. Pirenne show that although he is the rich heir of the synthetic method of historiography of Godfrey Kurth, he is not the heir of his faith, but rather an opponent of it. The book is penned by a "Liberal," and, to some extent, in a "Liberal" or rationalistic and anti-Catholic spirit. This will make the book decidedly less popular with nine-tenths of the Belgian people for whom it is written and whose civic virtues it sings.

Two accomplishments of the utmost importance must be credited to Belgian statemanship in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: the establishment of the Independent State of the Congo, and the enactment of scores of beneficient democratic laws for the benefit of the masses. The former furnished a vast field of expansion for the population and industries of Belgium; the latter stayed the progress of socialism at home. The Catholic premier, Beernaert, led the Catholic party in the right direction in both instances. H. Pirenne does not seem to give due credit to the far-sighted statesmanship of Beernaert in these matters.

Apart from such blemishes, this monumental historic work of H. Pirenne is the best history of Belgium. It makes the history of Belgium appear in a new and more glorious light. Catholic historians of Belgium will find in it wholesome new views of their national history, as well as a deeper understanding of the gradual development of their country as a nation. Our historians, in rewriting the history of Belgium, in the light of H. Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique*, will show forth the facts in truer reality, in closer connection, in more accurate proportion to their importance.

VICTOR DAY.

Helena, Mont.

John Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. By Rev. P. J. JOYCE. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1931. Pp. xvi, 330. 12/6.)

The career of this rugged and energetic churchman spanned the period from 1841 to 1918, and saw the transition from the old Ireland of "famine," eviction, rackrenting, discrimination political and religious, through her long struggle for the right to live on her own land and to think her own thoughts, up to the birth of the new Ireland of the last two-score of years in which the Irish spirit rejuvenated faces bravely the problems of a new day. A man of unwavering faith, of sincere devotion to truth and justice as he saw them, an enemy of strife where peaceful means might prevail, his influence was always cast as an anchor to keep his country off what he considered to be dangerous reefs. Because he opposed the "Plan of Campaign" in the '80's as immoral, and compulsory Irish in the National University early in this century as a form of extremism—to pass over the many intervening instances where he set himself against movements widely supported by prominent Irishmen, including members of the Hierarchy—he was often called a "Castle Bishop," a Tory, a West-Briton. He usually retained his composure in the face of such criticisms; but occasionally he repelled them with characteristic vigor. He was, in fact, intensely patriotic; he loved his country and was a devoted student of her history, and did much to make known her glorious past. His historical papers and ballads are alive with the spirit of Ireland's long fight against great odds; his lack of critical exactness in some of them only emphasizes his loyalty to that spirit. He did not see eye to eye with his contemporaries, especially in the latter decades of his life; but he was true to his own ideals, and labored incessantly for the upbuilding of a truly national educational system, in particular for the National University and for better agricultural instruction. Those who knew him best had the greatest respect for his patriotism, his learning, his kindliness, his wit, his manliness and courage; and they loved him for those

qualities. Those who differed with him on matters of policy felt that he was an ultra-conservative, and that Ireland had moved forward and left him behind. Only time can decide if they were right.

By means of copious extracts from his writings, Father Joyce gives us an insight into the Archbishop's character and activities.

JAMES A. GEARY.

Catholic University of America.

A Light of the Church in Kentucky: or, the Life, Labors, and Character of the Very Rev. Samuel Thomas Wilson, O.P., S.T.M., Pioneer Educator and the First Provincial of a Religious Order in the United States. By the Very Rev. V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M., Litt.D. (Washington, D. C.: Dominicana Press, 487 Michigan Ave., N. E. 1932. Pp. xiv, 333.)

To the reviewer of this recent volume from the versatile pen of Victor O'Daniel, the thought has occurred that the moment is propitious to summarize briefly the historical publications of the distinguished and scholarly historian of the Dominican Order in the United States. It is no reflection upon the three generations of Dominicans who laid the foundations for their widespread activities in the mission field, in schools and colleges, and in literature, to state that before O'Daniel began the creation of a central Dominican archives a score of years ago, the history of the Friars Preacher had been sadly neglected. These were the years of pioneer life in Catholic missions from Maryland to Kentucky and from Kentucky to California, as a perusal of the *Life of Father Wilson* so ably shows; there were almost superhuman demands made upon the members of the Dominican Order—their bishops, priests and nuns—to keep abreast of the advance of the Catholic Church towards the ever-receding frontier. To their great credit be it said that, in spite of these physical handicaps which prevented literary and historical work in the abundance they themselves desired, the future historian of the Order was not forgotten; a wealth of documentary material, of historical memoranda, brochures, necrologies and other domestic papers were all carefully preserved until the day would come for their use.

That day came when Father O'Daniel was given the office of archivist of his Order. After several years of research here and abroad, the archives at the House of Studies in Washington were soon replete with material, and the first result of his study was a volume which at once won general admiration and has retained its popularity ever since—*The Life of Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P. (1768-1832)* which O'Daniel published in 1920 after some ten years of work on the original sources. This first success was quickly followed by two biographies of illustrious members

of the Order—*The Life of Matthew Anthony O'Brien, O. P.*, and *The Life of Charles H. McKenna, O. P.*, the founder of the Holy Name Society in the United States. In 1926, O'Daniel published the largest of his works in point of documentary material—*The Life of Bishop Richard Pius Miles, O. P.*, the Father of the Church in Tennessee, and the first Bishop of Nashville. This biography is practically a history of the Church in the Southland up to the Civil War. Two years later, O'Daniel entered the more general field of Dominican history and gave us a volume entitled *The First Disciples of Saint Dominic* adapted from Touron's work on the same subject, written about 1740, but enlarged with biographies of several Dominicans whom Touron had overlooked. This last production from his pen was completed under exceptional obstacles, for Father O'Daniel had suffered severe injuries in a distressful automobile accident. "During a great part of the task" he writes in the Foreword, "it was necessary to call others, that they might get and bring books which were needed. Even after they had been placed within reach, it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be handled."

This was followed (1930) by a volume edited *Dominicans in Early Florida*, published as monograph XII by the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. It contains the life-story of twenty Friars Preacher who labored and died or were martyred in Florida during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Meanwhile many articles of exceptional merit on other aspects of Dominican history came from his pen; and now we have the pleasure of welcoming his latest work, *The Life, Labors and Character of Father Samuel T. Wilson, O. P.* Here again O'Daniel has spared neither time nor trouble in research to gather the documents for his subject, in spite of the physical handicaps to which we have made allusion. In many ways, this biography of a great priest, born in 1761 and dying in 1824, whose memory is as verdant today in Kentucky as it was a century ago, bids fair to become the most popular of all O'Daniel's writings. Father Wilson was one of the outstanding personalities of his day in the young Republic, and around his life and labors, as O'Daniel has so charmingly done, are centered almost all those aspects of social and religious life which grace the earliest pages of the advance of Catholicism from Maryland to the Kentucky valleys and hills.

Father O'Daniel has shown in all his historical works the true instinct of the research-student. Nothing is taken for granted; every tradition and every legend is sifted until the real facts become apparent; documentary sources alone, when proven by his keen grasp on historical criticism to be authentic and authoritative, are given their rightful place in the primary basis for his interpretation of the past; that interpretation never loses sight of the objective truth, even when personalities dear to his Order and

problems of an intimate domestic nature are under discussion; bibliographies well-arranged and accurately given, abound to a generous proportion in all his works, and appendices of documents are given whenever the text requires them. He has chosen his field with a devotion which merits the admiration of all his own confreres and of all who rejoice in witnessing the steady unperturbed pace he has kept all through the last quarter-century in bringing to light the history of the American Sons of St. Dominic. To his tireless industry and painstaking care, the O'Daniel *Dominicana* now form a precious library of Catholic American literature.

P. G.

The Soul of America. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1932. Pp. viii, 261.)

The professor of English literature in the University of Pennsylvania has entered the goodly company of a growing coterie of historians and litterateurs who are approaching our national past by the highroad of the dramatic unities. As an outstanding critic of the American drama, Dr. Quinn comes to his task of interpreting the soul of America fully equipped to create a constructive picture of these qualities of the American spirit "which have become integral and permanent." This is new approach; one that is bound inherently to come closer to the American ethos than the method of economic stress or of racial antagonism with which several outstanding writers in the field have recently made us familiar; too familiar, in fact. In Dr. Quinn's survey, we see more clearly the part literature, science, education, and art have had in the development of the American mind and heart. In tracing this development, Dr. Quinn has "tried to cut through the crust of conventional opinions and clichés already outworn, to discover the more profound causes of our conduct."

The volume opens with three chapters on the highlights of the birth, the baptism, and the confirmation of the American soul as an introduction to the coming of age of the nation and to a description of those qualities of the American soul which he considers the chief characteristics of the factors which have gone into its making.

The key to this original and most attractive analysis of America lies in the phrase which Dr. Quinn opens his study—"The American character was born of the spiritual, political and economic unrest of the seventeenth century." Racially and politically, colonial America with all its diversities in the matter of social outlook and religious freedom, had much in common, in spite of differences which marked the Puritan and the Cavalier. It is this common quotient in the dominant racial strains of the country which Dr. Quinn call the soul of America. Among the qualities brought

to the making of this soul, he mentions courage, order, self-respect, respect for law, an instinct for rule, and sense of racial integrity as the gifts of the English; loyalty, devotion to leaders, leadership, imagination, adaptability to circumstances, political genius as the gifts of the Celt; a sense of solidarity, love of the fine arts and especially of music, a strong sense of family life, and that indefinable something which the German possesses to an exceptional degree—*Gemüthlichkeit,* as the gifts of the Teuton.

With a blending of all these characteristics—and how exquisitely the author has unveiled them in a style that adds charm to the telling—Dr. Quinn brings his reader to the baptism of the soul in the patriotic outburst for liberty which climaxed in American independence. From the literature of the time he describes the nation's baptism with Otis, Adams, Henry, Washington, Franklin, Hamilton and Jefferson standing out as the chief personalties in the scene. His delineation of Washington's career might well have been included in the publications of the bicentennial commission last year; it is one of the sanest estimates of the great leader ever written. Following up his original thesis that the soul of the nation must be born, like all else that is human, in suffering, we are brought to the second stage of America's development—the confirmation of its soul in the struggle for union. "Before there could be an American soul there had to be an American nation," he writes; and in the gradual growth of an indissoluble nation, there pass before our eyes in these strikingly descriptive pages all those events which diminish or strengthen the ideal of the nation's unity from the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 to Lincoln's address at Gettysburg (November 19, 1863); and then on through the period of Reconstruction. The frontier movement westward and its influences in amalgamating national ideals are not forgotten, for the American Soul was tried "by the inevitable conflict with the original holders of the soil." Dr. Quinn admits that the American spirit "lost something of great beauty by its almost complete failure to understand the race whose land it had taken."

Of the many forces which went into the maturing of the American spirit during the age of expansion, no better field, he writes, for the study of American progress can be offered than that of education. There was laid during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the foundations of the Catholic system of education, elementary and advanced, which culminated in the establishment of Georgetown University in 1789. Due to the civil disabilities of Roman Catholics until after the Revolution, the great development of the parochial school came in the nineteenth century, under the leadership of Bishop Hughes of New York City. But in the meantime, the private education, especially of girls, under the guidance of teaching orders, such as the Ursulines, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and the Sisters of Charity, had become widely established. In some parts

of the country, notably Louisiana, Michigan and Maryland, this form of education anticipated the public school system, for from the beginning at least a portion of the instruction was free.

A fourth chapter entitled "America Comes of Age" explains the new political sectionalism and the imperialistic policies with which the nineteenth century opened. A sub-title to the chapter gives the keynote: "The Nation and the World"; and we recognize in the Spanish-American War, now admitted as almost wholly unjust in the light of Christian ethics, and in our peculiar attitude towards life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in the Philippines, a new phase of our maturity—one, indeed, that hardly seems to harmonize with the ideals of the Constitution. The policy of intervention in other parts of the Americas which followed the new *élan* created by the fracas of 1898, "in which the flag follows trade and the marines follow the flag, leaves the American citizen in a hopeless maze of perplexity." Theodore Roosevelt as dominating the first decade of the twentieth century and Woodrow Wilson as determining American thought and action during the second decade are the two figures who live again—under a better light—in Dr. Quinn's illuminating study.

The development of the American soul, as influenced by the Great War and as seen in the century and a half preceded our entrance into the conflict, is now taken up under seven headings—democracy, efficiency, liberality, provincialism, individuality, humor, and vision. This is the most original contribution in the book. This list of seven, he tells us in the preface, is reduced from an original twenty-three. No doubt, many of his readers would be more satisfied, had he kept to the entire list; and no doubt, many others will wonder why religion has not been included among these outstanding qualities of the American soul. Every educator in the land should read the section devoted to efficiency. The book ends on an optimistic note: "The most hopeful quality of the American soul is its perennial discontent. No people has ever scrutinized so thoroughly and with such varying degrees of understanding and sympathy its national weaknesses. When this land no longer holds men brave enough to protest against selfishness, stupidity, and intolerance; when the race fears to laugh at pretence in high places, and above all when the soul of America is content with its own achievement, then and not 'till then shall we have cause for despair."

P. G.

Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities. A Report by the Committee of the American Historical Association on the Planning of Research. (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1932. Pp. ix, 146.)

In December, 1930, a Committee on the Planning of Research was appointed by the American Historical Association and given authority to

convene advisory conferences of specialists in the main branches of historical investigation. Last year such conferences were held in Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern European History, and United States History. To secure consideration of certain basic problems, the members of each conference were furnished with agenda, the main heads of which were the following: I. Present Trends and Neglected Areas in Research. II. Enlargement, Improvement and Preservation of Materials. III. Development of Research Personnel. IV. Improvement of Research Methods. V. Improvement of Research Organization. VI. Publication Problems. VII. Financial Needs for the Promotion of Research.

The present little book embodies the results of the Committee's work. Part I, Report of the Committee on Planning of Research, after an Introduction by J. Franklin Jameson, contains the Findings of the Committee. Part II, Report of the Conferences of Specialists, contains in order the reports of the Conference on Ancient History, the Conference on Medieval History, the Conference on Modern European History, the Eastern Conference on American History, and the Middle Western Conference on American History. These reports are followed by an appendix giving the conference agenda and by a short index.

The present book is of fundamental importance to all who are interested in the promotion of historical research in the United States. The several conferences have grappled seriously with the problems outlined in the agenda and are quite frank in their suggestions and recommendations. The treatment of the questions raised by the headings, Development of Research Personnel and Improvements of Research Methods, seemed to the reviewer particularly timely and well done. Among other things, it was heartening to note that the conferences in general demand a broader training in subjects closely related to history as indispensable background, and that they call for a rigid enforcement of the language requirements in the various fields of history. The failure to insist on the German requirement is especially deplored. The lack of ability to write, a widespread malady in our graduate schools, is candidly discussed also, but no satisfactory solution of this difficulty is offered.

I should like to make the following corrections and suggestions. Page 14, lines 13-14: strike out the words "the opinion . . ." and insert "to focus upon historical problems." Page 62-63: Catholic University should certainly find a place among the libraries suggested as special repositories of medieval materials. Page 109, note 1: The statement "At the present time Columbia and Bryn Mawr are apparently the only institutions to require full publication of theses before the conferring of the doctorate" should be corrected, as Catholic University also rigidly enforces this requirement.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

The Catholic University of America.

Dictionnaire Général du Canada. Par Le R. P. L. Le Jeune, O.M.I., B. ès L. (Paris). (Ottawa: Université d'Ottawa. 1931. Two volumes. Pp. 862, 827.)

As the first successful venture of its kind by a Catholic author, this general encyclopedia of Canadian life, letters, and social progress has been given a well-deserved welcome by scholars in Canada and the United States. The Dictionary reveals not only the extraordinary sweep of historical knowledge possessed by Father Le Jeune, but follows the contemporary method of basing the articles, as far as possible, upon archival sources, especially upon those in the printed collections which now honor in number and scholarship the enlightened government officials of the Dominion. Under the direction of Sir John Macdonald the *Rapports Annuels des Archives* began to appear in 1882, and these, together with the source-publications of Abbés Ferland and Casgrain, M. Pierre Margry, Edouard Richard and other Canadian archivists and historians, are the bases for the advanced scholarship of the present generation of historical writers in Canada. Under Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government in 1904 a special edifice—The Public Archives of Canada—was erected in Ottawa, and a special department of government—The Archives of Canada—was inaugurated. At present the work of gathering the historical sources of Canada is in the hands of that remarkable scholar, Dr. A. G. Doughty, Keeper of the Records and Deputy-Minister of the Archives of Canada, and his capable assistant, Dr. James F. Kenney, President of the American Catholic Historical Association during the past year.

During the last score of years, the Public Archives at Ottawa have been enriched with an immense number of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, transcripts, maps, prints and pictures, and as a resident professor in the University of Ottawa, Father Le Jeune has had all this material at his command. One of his chief sources is the *Correspondance Général du Canada* in almost two hundred volumes folio. All through the 1700 pages of his *Dictionnaire* Father Le Jeune displays a critical use of this great source and the effect of his researches in this manuscript material is visible in almost every page of his two volumes.

The biographical sections of the work are naturally the more developed, though every aspect of Canadian life and institutions is given its proportionate share. Of the printed works which have gone into the making of his *Dictionnaire* some few predominate—the twenty-one volumes of *The Makers of Canada* by L. J. Burpee and Dr. Doughty, and *Canada and its Provinces,* in twenty-two volumes, by Dr. Doughty and the late Dr. A. Shortt. To these should be added that excellent work—the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1926, pp. 429), by Professor

W. Stewart Wallace of the University of Toronto, now Librarian of the University.

Father Le Jeune is not a beginner in the field of Canadian history. His *Tableaux Synoptiques de l'Histoire du Canada et de l'Acadie* is well known by American scholars generally for its accurate and graphic synopses of Canadian history. In his preface, Father Le Jeune says quite frankly that he is desirous of *corrigenda* and *emendanda* for a future edition of this classic work. In that respect he will no doubt welcome the general criticism that for students who use his work, his pages are deficient in bibliography, especially in works in English. Without attempting a detailed statement of these deficiencies, the following data may be helpful. There is an absence of appreciation on the influence of the Quebec Act in the American Revolution as well as upon American colonial literature of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. No mention is made of the colonial American hostility to the presence of the Acadians. Archbishop Bedini is accused of having fled before the rioters of New York to Canada; that view is completely adverse to the prelate's uniform courage and nobility of action in the presence of the Carbonari. There is a lamentable lack of information on those personages in which the American student is most interested—the two Blanchet, Edmund Burke of Nova Scotia, Druillettes, Briand of Quebec, Lotbinière, John McLaughlin, Saint-Denis, Archbishop Plessis, Saint-Vallier, Vincennes, De Smet and many others. The article on Dongan fails to recognize the study of John H. Kennedy on his relations with the Canadian Jesuits, and has a wrong slant on his administrative policy. Writing in this bicentennial year, it must be confessed that the article on George Washington is false in all its inferences.

But, even with these patent deficiencies before the reviewer, Father Le Jeune deserves the highest commendation for his courage in attempting the gigantic task involved in such a Dictionary and for the uniform scholarship that ennobles his work. The Dictionary will no doubt be purchased by all the libraries of our Catholic educational institutions in the United States, for it serves one dominant purpose—the renaissance of a better and a clearer knowledge of our sister Church in the Dominion of Canada.

P. G.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In the April number of the REVIEW will appear, as usual, the Secretary's account of the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association which was held at Toronto, Dec. 27-29. The programme of the meeting of the parent organization, the American Historical Association, contained much of interest to our members. Pleasant and profitable, as always, was the luncheon conference of editorial staffs of historical reviews, at which the REVIEW was represented. At the session on the Renaissance, Professor Albert Hyma read a paper on Erasmus and the Oxford Reformers. The session on Church History was devoted to the reading of the following papers: Causes of the Puritan Failure in England, 1640-1660, by M. M. Knappen, University of Chicago; Religious and Social Revolution in Eighteenth-Century Virginia, by W. M. Gewehr, American University; Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga, First Archbishop in the Western Hemisphere, by Benjamin W. Wheeler, University of Michigan; and Church and State in Canada, by K. H. Cousland, University of Toronto. The outstanding social event was the dinner to all associations given by the University of Toronto.

Dr. James F. Kenney, the retiring president of the American Catholic Historical Association, was recently awarded the bronze statuette of the Aonach Tailteann, Ireland, in token of the selection of his *Sources of Early Irish History,* by the Literary Committee, as the most important contribution to scholarship by one of Irish descent, for the period 1928-1931.

Members of the Association will rejoice in the election of the Hon. Clarence E. Martin to the presidency of the American Bar Association. Mr. Martin was president of the American Catholic Historical Association for 1927, presenting as the subject of his presidential address, the American Judiciary and Religious Liberty. He is an alumnus of the Catholic University, a member of its board of trustees, and a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory.

United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, edited by Dr. Leo Francis Stock who, in several articles contributed to the REVIEW and elsewhere, first used this rich collection of the Department of State, is in press, and will appear as Vol. I of the Association's *Documents.*

The *Journal of Calendar Reform,* September, prints a contribution entitled, "Catholic Criticism", by the Rev. Dr. Edward S. Schwegler, of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Buffalo, which is a reply to an

article by the Rev. Henry Woods, S. J., in the San Francisco *Monitor*, against the proposed reform. Father Schwegler thinks "we Catholics should study the whole question calmly and rationally, bringing out the pros and cons, and perhaps even making the subject such a lively issue that the Church will examine it more closely and issue a definitive statement on the inviolable sanctity of the week and the deviltry of the calendrial day, or *vice versa*." In this connection it should be remembered that the Holy See has stated through the Apostolic Nuncio at Berne (March 7, 1924) that "any changes which might be made in regard to the fixing of Easter, though they would meet with no objections from the point of view of dogma, would nevertheless involve the abandonment of deeply rooted traditions, from which it would be neither legitimate nor desirable to depart, except for weighty reasons or universal interest" (*cf. Ecclesiastical Review*, April, 1929, p. 342).

The *Harvard Theological Review* for July prints a Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, a record of Khanmeti Palimpsest Fragments of the Old Georgian Versions of Jeremiah, and some account of Greek Script and Georgian Scribes on Mt. Sinai — all from the pen of R. P. Blake. The October issue contains the Slavonic Version of Josephus' History of the Jewish War, by John M. Creed; and a study of Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire, by Arthur D. Nock.

Two volumes covering the literature of the Bible are announced by the editors of the *Records of Civilization* (Columbia University): the *Literature of the New Testament*, by Professor Ernest F. Scott; and the *Literature of the Old Testament in Its Historical Development*, by Professor Julius A. Bewer.

Two volumes on the early Church made their appearance during October and November: *Étude sur les origines du christianisme* (pp. 224) by Maurice Lame (A. Messein), and *L'Église à la fin du premier siècle* by G. Bardy (Bloud et Gay), should prove of particular value as brief summaries of the first days of Christianity.

Beauchesne announces the approaching publication of *L'Ancienne église de Carthage, études et documents*, by G. G. Lapeyre of the White Fathers. This work, in two volumes, is prefaced with a letter of the present Archbishop of Carthage, Msgr. Lemaitre. Volume one includes studies concerning St. Augustine and Carthage, on the fourteenth centenary of St. Fulgence, and a life of the same Saint by one of the early deacons of Carthage. The second series of studies deals with the church of Carthage at the Council of Ephesus, the religious policy of the Vandal kings, Ferrand, deacon of Carthage, the sufferings of seven monks of Capsa, and

finally, the bishops, basilicas, monasteries and cemeteries of the ancient North African see.

Ralph Adams Cram, Clerk of the Mediaeval Academy of America, in a recent report of the Academy's activities, announces the publication of Dr. J. R. Strayer's *Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis* (pp. 133). Other publications in press are: *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church to the Year 1000,* by the Rev. Gerald Ellard, S. J., of St. Louis University; an architectural study of the Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, by Mr. Cram; and an edition of the eight oldest High German translations of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti,* by Professor Carl Selmer of Hunter College. Professor W. E. Lunt, who is directing for the Academy the study of papal relations with England to the Protestant Revolution, has been gathering from the archives of Italy and England much of the data on which this study will be based.

The *Bad Abbot of Evesham and Other Medieval Studies* is an October publication of Basil Blackwell, London.

The well-known publicist, Hans Rost of Augsburg, Germany, is preparing a new publication which will give a comprehensive review of the relations of the Church to books. As the title, *Bibliophiles Jahrbuch,* indicates, its scope is not bibliographical but higher: selective from the viewpoint of bibliophiles. The refined esthetical aspect of book-lovers will be brought out and the publication is intended to prove the cultural influence of the Catholic Church. Therefore, the publication will not be restricted along national lines. Among the contributions we note those on Roman libraries, Benedictines and Carthusians as book-lovers, valuation of books during the Middle Ages, the early printers and books. This will be the only bibliophile publication the Catholics have in any country.

The latest volume of the *Gesammtkatolog der Wiegendruck* (Leipzig, 1932) lists 731 items of fifteenth-century books covering the alphabet "Breviarium-Byenboeck". The subject of "Breviarium" takes up three-fourths of the present volume. No less than 418 editions of breviaries are minutely described, all of them in Latin with the exception of the Glagolitic Breviary in Church Slavonic printed at Venice in 1493 for the diocese of Senj in Croatia. Certainly many a copy of these early editions was carried to America. Unfortunately, however, we have no information in this regard. The next volume will describe the first editions of the letters of Columbus.

Fraternal orders receive their share of attention among the publications appearing during the past few months in France. Of considerable scope is the two-volume edition of Georges Dansaert's *Histoire de l'Ordre souverain et militaire de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dit de Rhodes ou de*

Malte en Belgique (pp. 452, 325), from the presses of the Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire. Another much less elaborate publication is Lionel Vibert's *Divulgations des secrets maçonniques au XVIII^e siècle* (Edit. de la Paix).

A complete study of the Inquisition is attempted in the latest volume of Payot's *Collection Historique*. A. Verrill, in his book, *L'Inquisition*, deals with the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, the Spanish Inquisition, the Inquisition in the New World, the war against heresy, and the fight against witchcraft.

The history and spirit of the Cistercians are well portrayed in the *Order of Citeaux*, by the Rev. Ailbe Luddy, O. Cist. (Gill).

Among the autumn publications of Sands and Co., are: *Abbot Columba Marmion, a Master of the Spiritual Life*, translated from the French of Dom Raymond Thibaut, O. S. B., by Mother Mary St. Thomas of Tyburn Convent; *Conception Island, or the Troubled Times of the Catholic Church in Grenada*, compiled chiefly from original documents and unpublished records by the Rev. R. Devas, O. P.; *Missions and Missionaries*, translated by the Rev. F. M. Dreves, from the French of Georges Goyau; and the *Life of St. Alonso Rodriguez, S. J.*, translated from the Spanish by Madame O'Leary.

New issues of the Catholic Truth Society include: *The Order of the Good Shepherd*, by C. C. Martindale, S. J.; *Third Orders: Carmelite, Franciscan, and Servite*, by Benedict Zimmerman, O. D. C., Fabian Dix, O. P., Dominic Devas, O. F. M., and Anselm M. Hislop, O. S. M.; *Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia (1796-1868)*, by Robert Eaton; and *Frederick Ozanam*, by B. F. C. Costelloe.

Recent French contributions to the history of religious orders have been numerous. Of them all, however, none has been more truly valuable than the *Monumenta Ordinis F. Praedicatorum Historica*. Vrin now announces the publication of Part One of Volume XV, *Monumenta Historica S. P. N. Dominici*, entitled *Historica Diplomatica S. Dominici* and edited by H. Laurent of the Friar Minors. *Les Jesuites et l'héritage Guys: La Revanche de la Jourdane*, by Vivien, is another addition to the rapidly growing list of books dealing with the orders. It appeared from the presses of Vald. Rasmussen.

Agnès Siegfried is the author of a valuable two-volume work on the life of the Abbé Fremont. Georges Goyau of the French Academy says: "An entire period of our religious history lives again in the imposing monument which Mlle. Agnès Siegfried has erected to the memory of Abbé George Fremont." Entitled *L'Abbé Frémont (1852-1912): Pour*

servir à l'histoire religieuse, the two volumes, comprising over fifteen hundred pages, are published by Alcan, Paris.

The flood of French religious-biographical works continues. During the last few months there have been added to the list *La Princesse Louise-Adélaide de Bourbon-Condé, 1751-1824* (Lethielleux) by M. Savigny-Vesco. The Princess was the foundress of the Benedictines of the Rue Monsieur in Paris. Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. have published two anonymous biographies, *La Mère Marie-Julie d'Auvergne (1778-1846) et l'Institut des Religieuses de l'Immaculée Conception de Buzançais,* and *Mère Marie de la Conception (1838-1920).* J. Pugeire is the author of *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Chaptal* (Spes). *Une disciple de sainte Thérèse de Lisieux: Alice de Jésus* by Jacques Debout is numbered among the Editions Spes, while another volume of the same series is *Les Compagnons de saint François* by A. C. J. F. *Léon Ollé-Laprune* is the subject of Maurice Blondel's latest work. *Mgr. Söderblom historien des religions* (Leroux) is a very brief essay by C. Clémens.

Volume X of the *Memoires* of the Cardinal de Richelieu made its appearance during the month of October. It covers the year 1629. The *Memoires* are being published in Paris by H. Champion.

Even Philip II is beginning to be judged more leniently. A fuller knowledge of his correspondence and of his "human side"; a deeper understanding of Spain's historic importance and of Spanish points of view; and the growing realization that acts which have been deemed necessary, right, and even glorious when done by Elizabeth or William of Orange, can hardly be called odious crimes when done by Philip—all this has helped to at least a partial rehabilitation. The latest biography (David Loth, *Philip II of Spain,* New York, Brentano's, 1932), while endeavoring to be objective and critical, arrives at conclusions relatively favorable to Philip, though its author is none too friendly to the Church for which Philip fought.

The *Modern Churchman,* August-October, prints sixteen articles on the general subject of the Reformation, Old and New. Those of historical content concern the Reformation and Historical Study, by G. G. Coulton; the Precursors of the Reformation, by E. W. Watson; the Renaissance in Relation to the Reformation, by V. J. K. Brook; the Reformation and Nationality, by E. Barker; Protestant Scholasticism and the Counter Reformation, by R. S. Franks; Later Developments of the Reformation in the Church of England: Latitudinarianism, Methodist, and Evangelical Movements, by Norman Sykes; and the Reformation and the Oxford Movement, by C. C. J. Webb.

The fourth of the *Malta Books,* to be published by Henry Holt and

Co., is *Saint Elizabeth, Sister of Saint Francis,* by Elisabeth von Schmidt-Pauli.

The nineteenth volume of facsimile editions of manuscripts of the Vatican Library (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi,* Vol. XIX, 1930) gives a reproduction of the famous illustrated manuscript of Terentius, cod. Vatic. lat. 3868. It is the most important of all manuscripts of Terentius and represents the best specimen of ancient book-illustration which has come down to us. The edition will greatly benefit the studies of early Christian art which in no small degree was influenced by such classical models. Dr. Gunther Jachmann of the Cologne University wrote an introduction which treats of the history of the manuscript, its paleography, text, and illustration. The manuscript was reproduced on 184 plates in original size. In order to represent the rich polychromy of the original five pictures were reproduced in colors. Finally three pictures which are missing in the Vatican manuscript were supplemented by reproductions from Oxford and Milan manuscripts, so that the whole work contains 192 plates. The publisher is Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig.

From the pen of Léon Dorez comes a study of *La Cour du Pape Paul III d'après les registres de la Trésorerie Secrète.* The two financial registers from which M. Dorez has drawn his material have been but recently discovered. They include the records for the last two months of the year 1535, the years 1536, 1537 and 1538, the period which was the climax of Pope Paul's reign. Alexander Farnese, elected October 12, 1534, was a distinguished humanist and patron of the arts. The registers in question afford important information concerning the private expenses of the Pope, and particularly concerning the artists in his service. Well-chosen illustrations and a most complete index of names augment the value of these two volumes, the first of which deals with *La Cour pontificale,* the second with *Les Dépenses privées.* Published by Leroux, the work is opened with a preface by Pierre de Nolhac of the French Academy.

Still another book on the Roman Question has made its appearance, this time in France. It is a rather extensive work by G. Mollat, professor at the University of Strasburg, and is entitled *La Question Romaine de Pie VI à Pie IX.* It has been placed on the market by J. Gabalda et fils as part of their *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique.*

Rafael, Cardinal Merry del Val, by F. A. Forbes, with a preface by Cardinal Bourne, is described as a "character sketch" (Longmans).

Among the contents of *Civiltà Cattolica,* October 15, are: "Nuovi contributi alla Storia della Letteratura cristiana"; "L'Enciclica sul Messico contro il Sovvertimento dell' Ordine sociale"; and "Il III Congresso Internazionale di Archaeologia sacra a Ravenna".

The Rev. Ralph Kerr, Superior of the London Oratory, the son of Admiral Lord Walter Kerr, and heir presumptive to the Marquis of Lothian, his cousin, died in the latter part of October, at the age of 58. Father Kerr edited Pastor's *Popes of the Middle Ages,* and was the author of the *Rhymed Life of St. Philip Neri.*

Supplement No. 3 to the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for November, is a useful *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales,* compiled by Guy and Zirphie Parsloe (pp. 43).

The Oxford University Press has issued a *History of English Art in the Middle Ages,* by O. E. Saunders (pp. 272).

The Early English Text Society has added to its list the *Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, sometymes Lord High Chancellor of England,* "written in the tyme of Queen Marie by Nicholas Harpsfield, L. D., and now edited from eight MSS. with collations, textual notes, etc., by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, Ph. D., D. Litt., with an introduction on the continuity of English prose from Alfred to More and his school, a life of Harpsfield and historical notes by R. W. Chambers . . . and with appendices, including the Rastell fragments, chiefly concerning Fisher; the news letter to Paris, describing the trial and death of More: More's death and More's epitaph" (Oxford University Press).

New books from the Cambridge University Press include: *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England,* by G. R. Owst; and *Great Britain, Port Royal, and Jansenism,* by Miss Ruth Clark of Wellesley College.

The Lingard Society of London, England, is presenting during this winter an attractive series of historical lectures: Mr. Edward Bullough on The Holy See and the Risorgimento; Dom Dunstan Pontifex, O. S. B., on St. Dunstan, First Prime Minister of England; Miss Eleanor Gipps on The Papal Mission to Ireland, 1645; Mr. F. F. Urquhart on England and the Second Empire; Mr. W. H. Woollen on Pitt and Catholic Emancipation; Dom Louis Gougaud, O. S. B., on In the Traces of Irish Wandering Monks and Scholars; and Rev. Dr. Vance on St. Albert the Great. The lectures are given in Lecture Room of the Royal Historical Society.

The Story of Westminster Abbey (London, Tuck), by Lawrence E. Tanner, Keeper of the Muniments in the Abbey, makes use of the old documents in telling of the rise of the Confessor's church and its decoration by successive abbots and sovereigns.

The *Story of Fountains Abbey,* by the Rev. Charles C. Bell, commemorates the eight-hundredth anniversary of the founding of this abbey.

John A. Duke's *Columban Church* (Oxford University Press) traces the influence of the Columban Church in Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England.

The contents of the September issue of *Studies* include: an account of the Treason of Sir John Perrot (1588), by Pauline Henley; an appreciation of a Great Catholic Artist: Jan Toorop, by Kees van Hoek; an article on St. Patrick's Purgatory, by John Ryan, S. J.; and a study of John McEnery and Palaeolithic Man, 1796-1841, by Thomas Sheehan.

Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique jusqu'à l'époque de la Tène, by Henri Hubert, forms vol. XXI of the *Evolution de l'humanité* series (Paris, 1932). It promises to be the standard Preface to Celtic History by reason of its genuine research and broad perspective. In this first volume has been gathered all that anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics have been able to discover concerning the origins, migrations and early activity of the Gaels and the Britons before and during the "Iron Age."

The story of the work of the Irish saints in Italy is told by A. M. Tommasini's *Santi Irlandesi in Italia* (Vite e Pensiero, Milan).

American readers of the *Month* (October, 1932) will have found an interesting article from the pen of Father Herbert Thurston, S. J., on Prince von Hohenlohe, who was born in 1794 in Würtenberg and died at Vöseau in Austria in 1849, and who attracted world-wide attention (and opposition) during his priesthood (1815-1849) by the cures he is said to have effected through prayer and the celebration of Holy Mass. These cures excited a prodigious sensation in Europe, Father Thurston writes, and the opposition created by the medical fraternity of Bavaria reduced the prince-priest to the necessity of carrying on his work by correspondence. He began to write to the sick throughout the world, announcing the precise moment when he would begin Mass and urging them to join with him at that hour in prayer, especially in reading the prayers of the Mass. One of these cures, among the most celebrated in its day, and the cause of a sensation in the United States, was that of Mrs. Ann Mattingly, the sister of Captain Thomas Carbery, then (1824) Mayor of the city of Washington. Bishop England wrote extensively about her cure in the *Miscellany* and published the documents and medical attestations on her cure in a pamphlet that same year.

In his *True Story of the Acadians* (privately printed, 1932, pp. 112), Dudley J. Blanc has gathered together in chronological fashion all the historical data of this unfortunate tragedy in our colonial history, mainly from Church records in Nova Scotia and Louisiana.

The *Report of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference,* June 30-July 2, prints a bibliography of the friars'

writings during the past year. The papers and discussions were on the general subject of Seraphic Seminaries.

"The fact remains that Catholic thought has not in the least inspired the American Declaration of Independence", is the conclusion reached by the Rev. John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap., in the final chapter of his study of the Genesis of the Political Philosophy of the American Declaration of Independence, contributed to the December issue of the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice.*

Dr. Robert von Keller writes a summary of American Catholic history (*Das Gesicht des nordamerikanischen Katholizismus*) in the October, 1932, issue of the *Hochland,* based probably on the late Abbé Lugan's *Catholicisme aux Etats Unis* (Paris, 1930), since the emphases on our external growth and on the present organization of the American Church are the same—with the same false perspectives in critical parts of the summary.

The State Museum of Louisiana, in New Orleans, should not be neglected by the Catholic historian in search of materials bearing upon Capuchin affairs; the relations between the Capuchins and the Jesuits (about 1726); the affairs of Father Baudoin, superior of the Jesuits in 1766; or the suit brought against the Jesuits by Lafremière in 1762, which affected the vast property owned by this order in what is now the upper part of New Orleans. Among the newspapers preserved in the Museum are: the *Propagateur Catholique,* 1870-1882; the *Country Visitor,* 1879-1881; the *Catholic Standard,* 1860; and the *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger,* 1871-1881.

A volume which every historical student will desire and which should be in every school and college library is the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States,* by Dr. Charles O. Paullin, recently published jointly by Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York ($15.00). The *Atlas,* which covers the essentials of the political, social, economic, religious, educational, and military history of the United States, contains about 400 pages, including more than 620 maps printed both in black and white and in color, together with an introduction by the editor, Dr. J. K. Wright. There are 145 pages of text which describe the maps and the sources of information. Of direct interest to the Catholic historian are the maps showing the growth of the Church, 1775-1776, 1860, and 1890; colleges and universities for the same years, and the foreign-born population.

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* September, continues Miss Elizabeth Kite's study of General Washington and the French Engineers Duportail and Companions; gives the story of Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia, Its Foundation and Its Mission, by F. E.

Tourscher, O. S. A.; and prints the Minute Book of the Trustees, St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia.

For the October number of *Mid-America* Hugh Graham writes of St. Genevieve Academy, Missouri's First Secondary School; Ethel O. Merrill reviews the career of Henri de Tonty; W. S. Merrill enumerates the Catholic Historical Markers in Michigan; and J. W. Curran considers an Aspect of the Historical Development of Trust for Masses in Illinois. The document section prints some Letters to Father Timon, C. M. (1835-1843).

The *Historical Bulletin* for November gives continued proof of the value of this journal for the Catholic teacher of history. Among its contents are an account of the *Defensor Pacis,* the Last Great Struggle between Papacy and Empire, by L. K. Patterson, S. J.; a discussion of Cardinal Bellarmine's Attitude in the Galileo Affair, by F. S. Betten, S. J.; a description of the First Papal Coins, by C. H. Heithaus, S. J.; and the first part of a study of Madame de Pompadour and the Jesuits, by L. A. Hogue, S. J.

The *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library* of Providence, R. I., will appeal to all students of American history. The first volume appeared in 1919 giving descriptions of a few manuscripts and books printed from 1456 to 1569. The second volume contains titles of books printed from 1570 to 1658 and the third volumes gives titles for the years 1659 to 1674. The completed catalogue will comprise approximately 30,000 titles, with description of works on America before the year 1801. Because of the special strength of the Library in works of Latin-America interest, its catalogue shows a range and diversity of titles unexampled by any other printed catalogue of Americana now existing.

Lincoln MacVeagh, the Dial Press, publishes *Voodoos and Obeahs,* a scientific study of the weird practices that have influenced the social and religious development of Haiti, by Joseph J. Williams, S. J., author of *Hebrewisms of West Africa,* and *Whence the Black Irish of Jamaica.*

BRIEF NOTICES

ADAMOW, E., *Die Diplomatie des Vatikans zur Zeit des Imperialismus. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt durch G. von Lambsdorff.* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1932, pp. 143.)

This small volume contains a series of documents from the Russian archives, bearing upon the policy of the Holy See during the years 1887-1898; and also two essays by the editor on "The Vatican and the Rise of the Franco-Russian Alliance", and "The Vatican and England at the Time of the Anglo-Boer War." The documents themselves are decidedly interesting, though one can hardly attach great confidence to the interpretations of papal policy advanced by so young and imaginative a diplomat as A. P. Izvolski. But when this same policy is viewed through the lens of a Soviet professor, as in the essays, then we leave this dull world entirely behind us and arrive in the realm of pure phantasmagoria. (R. H. LORD.)

Autobiography of Peggy Eaton. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, pp. ix, 216, $2.50.)

A study of the Jackson administration is incomplete without a treatment of the story of Peggy Eaton. With the recent appearance of her autobiography, over half a century buried in manuscript form, such a treatment is now possible. Her own version of the incidents which gossiping tongues seized upon and magnified to such proportions that an able friend of Jackson was forced to refuse the proferred post as Minister to France, is now given. The account is frank, almost bitter: the style is impetuous, with the tumbling words of a confession and justification on the part of a heart-sick woman and the stenographic record of her dictation in the closing days of her life, it has none of the stilted phrases peculiar to the carefully prepared autobiographies with which we are familiar. This original record of her own story, with no additions, a few omissions, and only an occasional change for the sake of the sense, and no notes, has been published in accord with the original wish of Mrs. Eaton.

To refute the charges which appeared in the *Southern Review*, Jan., 1873, and Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, this manuscript was prepared. Mrs. Eaton clearly discerned that much of the opposition to her arose in order to hurt Jackson. To weaken the latter's popularity by ridiculing and calumniating his friends was the purpose of his enemies. Gossips' tales were broadcast to discredit Peggy and her husband, Major Eaton, Jackson's close friend and adviser. Much of the autobiography is taken up with the refutation of the calumny that she had been guilty of pre-marital infidelity with Major Eaton while her first husband was yet alive. She conclusively traces this calumny to the violation of professional etiquette by a lying doctor. To prove her innocence of all these charges she quotes three letters and a Narrative of Jackson, refuting the slanderous reports. The entire story is a sad commentary on the tactics of an opposition party to damage a popular favorite, Jackson, whose policies were ruinous to them. (ARTHUR J. RILEY.)

BARDY, Abbé GUSTAVE, *Les Moralistes Chrétiens* (*Textes et Commentaires*): *Origène.* (Paris, Gabalda et Fils, 1931, pp. 312.)

The present volume, in keeping with the plan of the series to which it belongs, contains systematically arranged selections translated into French from Origen's works, illustrating the latter's teachings on the Christian life, its principles and ideals. Just enough introductory material and commentary are given with the selections to make them intelligible to the general reader, In a short but meaty Introduction Prof. Bardy gives a critical sketch of Origen and his work, emphasizing the rôle and significance of the great scholar as a moralist. The translations and brief commentary again give evidence of the accuracy and erudition of a scholar, who, without sacrificing scholarship, is doing a splendid work of popularization in the field of Patristics. (M. R. P. M.)

Bibliotheca Vaticana. Codices Vaticani Latini. Tomus II, Pars prior, Codices 679-1134. Recensuit AUGUSTUS PELZER. (In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1931.)

This volume fills in large part the gap in the Ms. Catalogue of the *Codices Vaticani Latini* between Tomus I, Codices 1-678, edited by M. Vatasso and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri in 1902, and Tomus III, Codices 1461-2059, edited by B. Nogara in 1912. *Indices* to the present volume are announced as being in preparation, and Tomus II Pars posterior, Codices 1135-1460, edited by A. Borghezio is now in press. Thus in the near future we shall have a complete catalogue of the first part of the *Codices Vaticani Latini.*

It is hardly necessary to comment on the high quality of the scholarship displayed in this as in other volumes of the Ms. Catalogue of the Vatican in course of publication begun under the direction of the great paleographer, Cardinal Ehrle. The Catalogue, already imposing in its proportions, is one of the most important monuments of Catholic scholarship in our times. (M. R. P. M.)

BRADLEY, A. G., *United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada.* (London, Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1932, pp. 288, 15 s.)

Mr. Bradley was well equipped by his previous work to write this book on the Tories of the United States in Revolutionary days and their subsequent history in Canada. It is a stimulating book for Americans to read; not that we agree with everything in it, but as a corrective to some of our own views. The author has done his research well, but the book is marred by personal likes and prejudices, and by disparaging remarks altogether unnecessary, so that a great part of the book is rather a eulogy of those of the colonists who remained loyal to England and a tirade against the Americans who favored the Revolution.

United Empire Loyalists, or Tories as we have always titled them, flourished particularly in the Middle Colonies, with some in New England and fewer in the South. At the time of the Revolutionary war, or immediately after, about 100,000 of them left the country, half going to Florida and the West Indies, and the remainder settling Nova Scotia and what later became New Brunswick and Ontario. One-third of the book is devoted to the war of 1812, whose sole purpose, the author holds, was to seize Canada. He will admit no provocation on the part of the English. (C. H. CHAMBERLAIN.)

BROWE, P., S.J., *De Ordaliis. I. Decreta Pontificum Romanorum et Synodorum.* (Rome, Pontif. Gregorian University, 1932, pp. 48.)

Decrees of the Popes, from Zephyrinus to Innocent VIII; of Synods, from that held in Ireland under St. Patrick to the Prov. Council of Riga in 1428; and Bishops; in all 102 documents annotated by the editor.

CARROCERA, CAYETANO DE, O.M.Cap., *La Orden Franciscana en Venezuela. Documentos para la Historia de sus Misiones en esta Republica durante el siglo XIX.* (Caracas, 1929, pp. x, 302.)

This book is a contribution to the history of the Church in Venezuela during the nineteenth century. It treats of the destruction of the Capuchin missions during the Revolution and the missionaries who remained to continue the work on a smaller scale (pp. 1-26), of the 75 Capuchins who arrived during 1842 and 1843 upon the request of the government (pp. 27-229) and gives documents in the appendix (pp. 233-292). Most of the unpublished documents were taken from the archives of the archdiocese of Caracas which never yet has been laid under contribution by the historians. Besides, the author gathered much material in the places where these missionaries labored. Yet with all his diligence he could not give a detailed history on account of scarcity of material. The last of these missionaries died as late as 1900. One of them, Father Stephen of Adoain, died in the odor of sanctity in 1880 and the process of beatification was introduced in Rome. Notable is the Capuchin Francis of Andujar who held the chair of mathematics in the University of Caracas, accompanied Humboldt in 1800 on his trips of explorations and was the teacher of the Liberatador Bolivar before 1798 (pp. 236-238). The author follows the principles of scientific research and presents his material in good order. (JOHN M. LENHART.)

CASEY, R. P., *Serapion of Thmuis Against the Manichees.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931, pp. 80.)

Complete and critical edition of this important work, made possible by the discovery at the Vatopedi Library of Mount Athos of a MS. filling the lacuna of the Genoa MS. and permitting to correct a number of passages almost illegible of this MS.

CLAVERY, EDOUARD, *Trois précurseurs de l'indépendance des démocraties Sud-Américaines, Miranda, Narino, Espejo.* (Paris, Imprimerie Fernand Michel, 1932, pp. 192, fr. 12.)

This excellent collection of materials concerning the contributions of three South American patriots to the independence of their respective countries is most timely in these days of increasing interest in Latin America. That part of M. Clavery's work devoted to F. X. Espejo is of particular value, inasmuch as it concerns a man whose name is hardly known in these northern climes. As the earliest champion of Ecuadorian independence, his romantic career deserves the careful attention of American historians. (JOHN J. MENG.)

CODE, Rev. JOSEPH B., *The Veil is Lifted.* (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1932, pp. xix, 161.)

The late Bishop Shahan in his University lectures and in his frequent, inimitable, private conversations often stressed this fact: those who will

understand the present status of an institution, be it ecclesiastical or political, must know well the story of its unfolding. The present is ever the child of the past in human institutions as in human conduct. In the history of the Catholic Church in the United States no item of information, no fact, no deed in its many-sided weave is to the real scholar insignificant. Each of these has a value, an interest and a worth that cannot, if a complete story is to be told, be neglected or ignored. The volume before us from the pen of Father Code is a neat and most readable collection of just such items of Church history. It is a compact treatise of the lives and deeds of the foundresses of sixteen of our outstanding religious communities of women. It is a story indeed of those noble and self-sacrificing women who were in the beginning of the Catholic Church in the United States what Joanna, Electa, Evodia, Priscilla and the others mentioned by St. Luke in the *Acts of the Apostles* and St. Paul in his *Epistles* were to the infant Church in the beginnings of Christianity. This little volume briefly discloses the lives and the deeds of such heroines as Mothers D'Youville, Dickinson, Seton, Rhodes, Spalding, Lalor, Duchesne, Sansbury, Clarke, Guerin, Gamelin, Warde, Durocher, Connelly, Amedeus Dunne and Alphonsa Hawthorne Lathrop. We strongly recommend it as supplementary reading to all pupils in Catholic high schools and colleges. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

CULLMANN, O., *Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-clémentin. Étude sur le rapport entre le Gnosticisme et le Judéo-christianisme.* (Paris, Alcan, 1930, pp. viii, 272.)

Cullmann's book is a reaction against Harnack's view, that Gnosticism was but a radical and premature hellenization of Christianity. Far from deserving the discredit into which it has fallen, the Pseudo-Clementine literature should, according to the writer, be regarded as a precious witness of the early Judeo-Christian Gnosis. The Kerygmata, in particular, elaborated in the Judeo-Christian groups settled around Pella before A. D. 70, reflect the authentic teaching of the early Christian community of Jerusalem, opposed to the "Pauline" conception of Christianity. Harnack was wrong; Cullmann has swung the pendulum to the other extreme. But if his solution of the historical question has little to recommend itself, yet he has made a notable contribution to the unravelling of the knotty literary problems raised by the Pseudo-Clementine writings. (C. L. SOUVAY.)

DABIN, PAUL, S.J., *L'Apostolat laïque.* (Paris, Librairie Bloud et Gay, 1931, pp. 229.)

Catholic action defined by Pope Pius XI as "the participation by laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy" forms the central theme of the book. The first part is historical; the author outlines briefly the forms of apostleship revealed in the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers of the Church and the encyclicals of the popes, notably, Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI. The second part is devoted to a practical analysis of the factors which make up Catholic action. Written chiefly to stimulate and guide the co-operation of French laymen with their clergy whose number was greatly diminished by anti-religious laws and losses suffered during the World War,

this thoroughly documented book is an important contribution to the subject of Catholic action. Many readers will regret the lack of a bibliography. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

DE LANUX, PIERRE, *Sud.* (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. 278, 1 map, 8 illus., 15 frs.)

M. De Lanux has written for Europeans a brief, but generally accurate account of the American Civil War. He has paid particular attention to post-war reconstruction in the South.

ESCHWEILER, K., *Joh. Adam Möhlers Kirchenbegriff. Das Hauptstück der katholischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem deutschen Idealismus.* (Braunsberg, Pr., 1930, pp. vii, 175.)

The present monograph deserves careful reading. The author analyses the development and content of Möhler's concept of the Church, and gives a critical evaluation of the great theologian's contribution to Catholic theology in a period when theological thought was so frequently and so widely in a state of uncertainty and flux. As one reads this penetrating study he cannot fail to understand more clearly than ever the great achievement of Möhler, and to realize that the appearance of the *Symbolik* was epoch-making, or rather nothing short of providential, in the history of theological speculation in the last century. (M. R. P. M.)

GILLIS, Rev. JAMES M., *The Paulists.* (New York, Macmillan, 1932, pp. vi, 67.)

Here we have a glimpse of Catholic Church history in the making. This little brochure from the pen of Father Gillis, C.S.P., is a chapter, better let us say, a paragraph, of American Catholic Church history that is very near to us all and especially dear to the Catholic University of America. It is the story of the Paulists, whose studentate was the first to be established at the University. The first chapter states clearly and explains to the satisfaction of the reader one of the outstanding causes which was instrumental in advancing Catholicism in the United States. The part played by the Paulists is indeed modestly recounted. The second chapter is a brief yet compact analysis of the unfolding of Father Hecker's religious development. Step by step he was urged on by the "Quest of Truth" to the Truth Eternal, the custody of which here on earth God has intrusted to the one true Church. The third chapter gives a vivid picture of the founding, the advancement and the manifold successful activities of the Paulist Community. As one peruses these pages it becomes more and more evident why the spirit and ideals of Father Hecker have permeated this religious society, founded as it has been for the special labor of bringing Christ and His Holy Religion to those in America who are still seeking the Truth. The fourth and last chapter is a forceful yet benign explanation of how religious progress must be carried on by Father Hecker's spiritual sons in order that "America may be Catholic." (LEO L. MCVAY.)

GWYNN, STEPHEN, *The Life of Horace Walpole.* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1932, pp. 285, $4.50.)

Stephen Gwynn has given a very readable and chatty book on the sage of

Strawberry Hill. The style is easy and the interest holds throughout. Among the interesting topics dealing with the life of this very interesting man of which the author treats, there is the question of the parentage of Horace Walpole. Though reputed to be the son of Robert Walpole and treated by the latter as such, he was most probably not. It is hard to say whether or not he ever became aware of the facts of his birth, but nevertheless he was ever a devoted son to the famous English statesman. The whims and oddities which marked Horace Walpole's whole career help to keep his memory green and reveal him as a clever genius who was always a dilettante, but one fortunate enough in always having the means to indulge his foibles. One would like to have met him, if for nothing else than to have been entertained by his witticisms and to have been informed by his gossip. Among his oddities were his friendships, especially that with the ancient French Grandame, Madame du Deffand, and that with the youthful Misses Berry when Walpole himself was far advanced in age. Both friendships were honorable, but they were as intense as they were extraordinary. Despite all his posturings as a Liberal, Walpole was a Conservative deep in his heart. He was so wedded to the past that he could never favor Catholic Emancipation. In passing, it might be noted that the book, in narrating the various gossips and scandals common among the friends and acquaintances of this man of letters, presents a very unflattering picture of Georgian society and its vices. There was little, if anything, scandalous in the life of Horace Walpole. Still he can never be classed as a hero, for he was too egotistical to be noble. (MARTIN P. HARNEY, S.J.)

HENTHORNE, Sister MARY EVANGELA, B.V.M., Ph. D., *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States.* (Champaign, Illinois, Twin City Printing Co., 1932, pp. 190.)

Dedicated to the leaders whose direction and encouragement made Irish Catholic colonization on the western prairies a possibility and to the pioneers whose courage and sacrifice made it a success, this doctorate dissertation, done under the scholarly guidance of Professor Marcus L. Hansen of the University of Illinois, reveals for the first time in composite form the labors of Bishop Spalding of Peoria, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, and Bishop O'Connor of Omaha, to establish colonies of Catholics in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Arkansas. Few chapters in American Catholic history present more fascinating pages for our generation. The authoress began her researches with the object of presenting a complete biography of that great intellectual leader, John Lancaster Spalding; but once the rich vein of documentary material on this one aspect of his many-sided career was uncovered, she wisely followed it out to the end. The result is an amazing mass of original material all perfectly arranged in the best scientific method, and synthesized in a way that makes her little volume delightful reading and a valuable contribution to the story of the Catholic Church on the northwestern frontier. An effort should be made to place the book in the hands of all the families and their descendants as an incentive to further searches in this important phase of the Catholic advance westward. There are excellent maps and graphs explanatory of the text. The book needs an index to make it complete. (P. G.)

HEYRET, M., *P. Markus von Aviano O.M.Cap.: Apostolischer Missionaer und Paepstlicher Legat beim Christlichen Heere.* (Munich, 1931, pp. 476.)

The biography of this saintly Capuchin, who wielded the greatest influence upon European politics during the seventeenth century, merits all praise. The authoress had been working on this book for more than thirty years. The references to the sources (pp. 451-465) attest that the book is mainly based on unpublished material, so that all preceding biographies are superseded. The matter is well digested and rounded out to perfection. The facts are put always into their proper milieu. Certainly you come across minor slips and occasional misstatements, yet you can hardly point out a single positive error of consequence. The book was occasioned by the recent investigations into the life of Father Mark of Aviano as preparations for the process of beatification in Rome. The acts of this process which were the results of twenty-three years' labor comprise four large folios. In 1921 they were deposited in Rome. At present the cause of Father Mark of Aviano is the most elaborate and most important process of beatification pending in Rome (p. 450). (JOHN M. LENHART, O.M.Cap.)

HURTEVENT, A. A. SIDOINE, *L'Unité de l'Eglise du Christ.* (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1930, pp. xlvii, 424.)

There are two distinct and yet closely connected parts in this remarkable book, the first dealing with the unity of the Church, its nature, different elements and varied aspects, the second with the proofs from the Scriptures, Tradition, and Theology corroborating the veracity of this doctrine. Although the author does not purpose to bring out anything theologically new, he presents, nevertheless, a clear and vivid analysis of the doctrine and takes into consideration the latest contributions of theologians, as is noticed in the extensive bibliography preceding the Introduction. He describes fully the double unity of the church, the one spiritual, the other visible. Written in an informal style and in a conciliatory spirit, this book will prove useful to both Catholics in search of a comprehensive treatment of this doctrine and non-Catholics desirous of knowing the source and nature of the unity of the Catholic Church. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

HUYSMAN, Dr. RUD., *Wazo en de Ideenstryd Zyner Dagen.* (Utrecht, N. V. Derker, 1932, pp. xxxii, 206.)

After giving an extensive and strongly documented biography of Wazo, bishop of Liége, the author devotes an entire section to prove to his own satisfaction that the election of Gregory VI to the See of Peter was tainted with simony. In his main chapter, he proves that Wazo was the protagonist of the theory that the temporal power may not interfere with the spiritual power, that the latter is and must be entirely independent of the former, and that it is centered in the Roman Pontiff. By defending these traditional views and openly acting according to them, Bishop Wazo, so holds Dr. Huysmans, greatly influenced the Gregorian decrees concerning the temporal and the spiritual power. The argumentation of the author is convincing, his style is vigorous and clear. Yet, many will wonder why, like many other modern

Dutch writers, he frequently uses French words where plain Dutch words are available. (JOSEPH BLAERE.)

JOURDA, PIERRE, *Une princesse de la renaissance, Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre (1492-1549): Temps et Visages.* (Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie., 1932, pp. 288.)

"Her life, her work, command respect, a respect mingled with sympathy for this woman to whom life sent its trials, who knew how to meet them worthily, without flinching and without complaining, whose goodness and constant piety compensate somewhat for the errors of Francis I." Such is the final judgment of M. Jouda upon the brief life of the noble dame of Angoulême. Drawn in bold but able strokes, this short study of the sad life of Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, is a worthy product of the pen of its well-known author. (JOHN J. MENG.)

JOURNET, CHARLES, *La Juridiction de l'Église sur la Cité.* (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., 1931, pp. 235.)

"The supernatural mystery of the authority of the Church—this is not the place to explain it" (p. 226). In the epilogue of this little treatise by Professor Journet one finds the key to his treatment of the problem of the relation of Church and State. He makes no attempt to delve into the roots of ecclesiastical authority; it is sufficiently difficult to attempt to understand the origins of civil authority. Journet takes the traditionally orthodox formula, namely that the Church exercises an "indirect power" in temporal matters due to the accidental subordination of the State. Turrecremata, Vittoria, Soto, and St. Bellarmin are cited briefly as authorities who have supported this formula. The chief source of corroborative evidence, however, is found in the writings of St. Thomas and in the commentaries of Cajetan on the same. A great many important questions are raised and cast aside after no very definite answer has been found for them. The two shining examples of such questions are St. Bernard's treatment of the "two swords" and St. Augustine's statement that a state without justice is just a big robber. No book of this nature should be printed without an index of names and a bibliographical list. This work has neither. (VERNON J. BOURKE.)

KELLER, Rev. HAROLD E., M. A., *History of Pennsylvania.* (New York, W. H. Sadlier, 1932, pp. 199.)

The superintendent of Catholic schools of the Diocese of Harrisburg presents in compact form for the boys and girls of the parochial schools under his direction a story of the State containing all those Catholic items of historical interest which should be familiar to its citizens. A series of exceptionally clear maps and illustrations enliven the text, and study plans follow each chapter. We regret to see the curious term "Scotch-Irish" used in the book. Some unfortunate misspellings occur (Gibaut, Beardstown, Gallitzen, etc.), and several important incidents in the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll over Pennsylvania are missing. There is an appendix of Governors and United States Senators from Pennsylvania, and an index. (P. G.)

KLEEBERG, GERHARD, Ph. D., *Die Polnische Gegenreformation in Livland.* [*Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte.* Jahrgang 49, Heft 2 (no. 152).] (Leipzig, M. Heinsius, 1931, pp. viii, 128, Mk. 3.50.)

This monograph continues Pohrt's *Reformationsgeschichte Livlands* (1928) and brings together the elements of the Catholic struggle to regain Livland. These elements were different in the Livland movement from those in the better known counter-reformation conflicts in the west. Catholic Poland, orthodox Russia, and protestant Sweden contended for the control of the Baltic Sea coast which Livland possessed. Within Livland itself there was religious contention between the landed classes and the peasantry in the country and between the ruling classes and populace of the cities. Class interests, however, gave way to the necessity of maintaining independence against the more formidable foreign enemies, Russia and Sweden. Thus, many a Protestant Livlander was constrained to proceedings counter to his conscience in supporting the Catholic kings of Poland and the Jesuits. Dr. Kleeberg revels in his task of untangling this bewildering complex of self and national interests and succeeds marvellously well. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

LAGRANGE, M.J., O.P., *Loisy et le modernisme, à propos des "Mémoires".* (Juvisy, S. et O., Les Editions du Cerf, 1932, pp. 251, 15 fr.)

Basing his study upon the Memoirs of M. Loisy, the author divides his work into two sections. The first, historical, follows Loisy from his years in the seminary to 1927. The second, and more important part, is an estimate of the religious importance of Loisy's ideas, and particularly of his fundamental thesis, the relativism of the dogma established by Biblical criticism. (J. J. M.)

LAMA, FRIEDRICH VON, *Die Friedensvermittlung Papst Benedikts XV und ihre Vereitlung durch den deutschen Reichskanzler Michaelis* (Aug.-Sept. 1917). (Munich, Kosel and Pustet, 1932, pp. 310.)

This comprehensive and critical study by a scholar specially competent in this field comes to the conclusion that Chancellor Michaelis, although desirous of peace, allowed his attitude to be governed by the narrowest sectarian hatred of Rome and thus rejected Benedict XV's offer of mediation, though it was then the only possible means of attaining peace. (R. H. LORD.)

LAWES, LEWIS E., Warden of Sing Sing, *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing.* (New York, Ray Long and R. Smith, 1932, pp. x, 412, $3.00.)

In this interesting volume the warden of Sing Sing describes his experiences as a prison official and proves himself a real student of penology. He is an able writer and gives a gripping account of the causes and remedies of crime. Taught by study and experience that a "mild despotism" is the best method of handling prisoners, he shows the folly of the "honor system" of Osborn who sacrificed the warden's prerogatives of power to the prisoners' caprice. He justly condemns the classification of all fourth offenders as incorrigible, the failure to classify prisoners and to separate the distinct types; shows the impossibility of reforming prisoners without trained officials, but questions the advisability of a dozen physicians and psychiatrists at one

prison. He lays his finger on such sore spots in our system of law enforcement as the hodge-podge administration of criminal law which sentences men to the same punishment without knowledge of the differences in their character and antecedents and of the totally different effect that imprisonment will have upon them. He laments the fact that the law profession as a whole concerns itself with advising clients how to circumvent law; and finds fault with the waste of public funds for a hundred useless official investigations of crime.

While Lawes's practical measures mostly merit approval, he has apparently a false notion of the origin of law; he speaks of punishment as only a man-made sanction. In opposing capital punishment he offers, among others, the same kind of sentimental reasons that he criticizes in the advocates of capital punishment; and the highest inducement he offers for a law-abiding life is not the true and efficient motive, "for conscience sake," but merely the enjoyment of liberty and the privileges of community life.

Unqualified assent must be given to his conclusion that, if we would effectively reduce crime, the home, the school, the church, the public, the stage, the law and the prison must work together. (LEO KALMER, O.F.M.)

LE COMPTE, EDOUARD, S.J., *Catherine Tekakwitha.* Translated by Sister Francis (Isabel Hamilton Melick). Edited by John J. Wynne, S.J. (New York, Tekakwitha League, 1932, pp. viii, 190.)

This delightful little biography of Catherine Tekakwitha, better known as the Lily of the Mohawks, is very timely brought out. At no time since her death has there been a greater interest manifested in the life of this saintly Indian maiden of the Mohawk Valley. This is due, perhaps, no less to the singular attractiveness of her simple and romantic life than to the fact that she is now being seriously considered with a view to probable canonization. This sketch of her life, which is very readable and historically correct, attains its factual accuracy through the use of every manuscript, primary and secondary, extant on the subject. Although his work is necessarily brief, the author has been careful to omit nothing for which he could find documentary evidence. The translation of Sister Francis is excellent. (E. C. LAMORE, O.P.)

MAIRE, ELIE, D. Th., *Le Christ Total.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1932, pp. xi, 165, 5 francs.)

This second volume of Father Maire's Catechism of Perseverance deals with the Church. It is divided into three parts: The Apostles, the doctrine of the Church, and the Sacraments. Written purposely to meet the requirements of the "Commission des Catéchismes du diocèse de Paris," this book is remarkable for its preciseness of content and method of presentation. Each chapter is followed by an excerpt bearing on the subject studied and selected from the writings of a great Catholic writer. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

MIJNSBRUGGE, MAURICE VON DER, *The Cretan Koinon.* (New York, G. E. Stechert and Co., 1931, pp. 86, $1.15.)

Since the days of Boeckh scholars have worried over the meaning of the term *koinodikion.* The author has discovered that the solution of this prob-

lem throws much light upon the larger question of the organization of the Cretan Koinon. He, therefore, considers both in this monograph.

The epigraphical evidence at his disposal is still very scanty and some of the most important of it has not been available for more than fifteen years. Dr. van der Mijnsbrugge manages to tease from it precious information on several questions fundamental for our understanding of the Cretan Koinon. The phrases "under the scientific guidance of" and "under no less an authority than," found in the Preface, sound a bit naïve, at least in English, but they should not prejudice the reader against the solid pages which follow. (JAMES MARSHALL CAMPBELL.)

OSTROGORSKY, G., *Studien zur Geschichte des Byzantinischen Bilderstreites.* (Bresslau, Marcus, 1929, pp. 114.)

Based upon personal investigations; making use in particular of the as yet unpublished Treatise of Nicephorus against the Council of Constantinople of 815.

PARKS, GEORGE BRUNER, Ph. D., *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages.* Edited with an Introduction by James A. Williamson, D. Litt. (New York, American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 10, 1928, pp. xvii, 289.)

Often a course of lectures, done over for the press, either suffers from a discursiveness that had not been apparent when the actual, living voice of the speaker and the personality of his visible presence gave unity to the whole, or, if the serial papers be properly and eruditely set together, all too often present but a display of purple patches of inspiring utterances spread on an under-surface of prosaic dullness. Had Professor Parks not so stated in the Preface, one would not recognize in the seventeen chapters of *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* parts of a lecture course delivered on the Rufus B. Kellogg Fellowship of Amherst College. In the narrative of nearly 250 pages the author combines the qualities of accurate historical scholarship, the ready use of clear and vigorous English diction, and the energizing grace and genius of a rare stylist. The book is, indeed, much more than merely another monograph on an important phase of Elizabethan English history. The ripe scholarly attainment of the author enables him to bring the facts of the recorded voyages in proper perspective with the age that saw them transacting, and at the same time to rise from the specialized narration of one man's life work to keen and illuminating synthesis of the historic development by which Western culture has today become the master and pattern of the world. Some thirty-two illustrations, copies and facsimiles, selected from libraries and museums as widely variant and separated as the Vatican and those of Stockholm, London, New York, and Boston, appendices of the author's research into Hakluyt genealogies, and comprehensive bibliographies add to the value and usefulness of a history sufficiently worthwhile without these helps. The Introduction by Dr. Williamson, which may well serve as a unifying summary of the whole work, is a clear and stimulating view at a glance of post-Renaissance world history. The very opening sentence, "The Elizabethan age was not spacious, as we are sometimes told, but

narrow and needy," is an exhilarating potation that whets the appetite for more of the book, whether the words prick as a challenge to refute or make the head to wag in an approving "I told you so!" (FRANCIS J. HEMELT.)

PÉGUY, CHARLES, *Clio.* (Paris, Gallimard, 1932, pp. 276, 15 frs.)

This is a new and inexpensive edition of *notre cher Péguy's* charming "Dialogue between History and the Pagan Soul."

SCHUBERT, HANS VON, *Die Anfänge der evangelischen Bekenntnissbildung bis 1529/1530. [Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte.* Jahrgang 45, Heft 2 (no. 143).] (Leipzig, M. Heinsius, 1928, pp. 41.)

The formulation of Lutheran tenets in 1529/1530 was the result of a complex evolutionary process which Dr. Schubert's monograph clearly describes. He finds that the formulation goes back to Melancthon's pedagogical treatment of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans in 1520-1521 and received considerable impetus from the demands of the Statthalter Ferdinand and other political authorities in 1524 on the reformers to clarify their teachings. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

TERRY, ALTHA ELIZABETH, *Jeanne d'Arc in Periodical Literature, 1894-1929; with Special Reference to Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan": a Bibliography.* (New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1930, pp. xxiv, 127, $1.50.)

The bibliography of periodical literature on Joan of Arc here presented is extensive, though it may not be, as the author remarks, "exhaustive or selective," for the years covered, from the year of Lanéry d'Arc's *Le Livre d'Or de Jeanne d'Arc* down to the near present. The sub-title, "With Special Reference to Bernard Shaw's 'Saint Joan,'" the listings show, makes the compilation not only of use to literary students, but serves the author rather as a guide to determine the groupings of the articles cited. The field covered by the bibliography and the method of compilation are plainly set forth in the Foreword. Students of history and literature alike whose interest centers around the Maid of Orleans will want this bibliography as a necessary addendum to their critical paraphernalia. (FRANCIS J. HEMELT.)

VALLET, Dr. A., et Dr. R. DUBUCH, *Les Guérisons de Lourdes en Schémas.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1932, pp. 180, 5 francs.)

In this little book, two eminent doctors relate the miraculous cures of twenty-three persons who made pilgrimages to Lourdes during the years 1875 to 1930. A short biography of each person, together with a description of their afflictions duly certified by doctors precede the narration of their cure. The authors have included the diagrams which were used in their lectures on the miraculous cures of Lourdes. Although a work of propaganda, it supplies in its familiar style edifying reading for the believer and outstanding proofs of the power of the supernatural over the natural to the unbeliever. A similar book describing the cures in the course of 1930-31-32 is in preparation. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

VOGT, A., et T. HAUSHERR, S.J., *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage.* (Rome, Pont. Instit. Oriental Studies, 1932, pp. 79.)

This discourse, contained in MS. A 408 of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, is here published for the first time. It does not add much that is new on the life of Emperor Basil I, but permits to determine with greater accuracy certain points of chronology.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Evolution of Religion. J. D. Beresford (*Aryan Path*, September).

The Attitude of the Church toward Slavery prior to 1500. R. W. Logan (*Journal of Negro History*, October).

The Foundation and Early Struggles of the Redemptorists. Joseph Daley, C.SS.R. (*Thought*, December).

The Plagues of Egypt: a Biological Sequence. E. L. Kessel (*Thought*, December).

Judaism and the History of Religions. Christopher Butler, O.S.B. (*Downside Review*, October).

The Date of the Crucifixion according to the Fourth Gospel. S. Zeitlin (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI, pt. 2).

Was St. Luke a Physician? Lieut. Com. L. H. Roddis (*Military Surgeon*, September).

Is Poverty the Badge of Saints? Phoebe Fenwick-Gaye (*Aryan Path*, September).

Woman in the Middle Ages. Margaret Trouncer (*Blackfriars*, November).

Corinth in the Middle Ages. J. H. Finley, Jr. (*Speculum*, October).

The Cooperation of Medieval Penance and Secular Law. T. P. Oakley (*Speculum*, October).

The Middle Ages Had No Third Degree. J. J. Walsh (*America*, October 8).

A Brief Sketch of the Life of St. Augustine of Hippo. Hugh Pope, O.P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, November).

Two Saints: St. Augustine, St. Patrick. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock (*Churchman*, October).

Saint Alphonsus, Model of Catholic Action. F. J. Connell, C.SS.R. (*Catholic World*, November).

Saint Robert, Champion of the Popes. J. Brodrick, S.J. (*Missionary*, October).

St. Albert the Great. T. M. Schwertner, O.P. (*Catholic World*, October).

St. Ninian of Candida Casa. D. Murrin (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).

The Peace of Stralsund, 1370. D. K. Bjork (*Speculum*, October).

The Growth of Papal Jurisdiction and Leo the Great. J. P. Whitney (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV, No. 1).

Statistics of the Eastern Churches. (*Pax*, October.)

Theological Thought of the Orthodox during the XIXth Century (concluded). Bede Winslow, O.S.B. (*Pax*, October).

The Orthodox Monastery of Kroushedol. V. A. Maievsky (*Pax*, October).

Origen, the Christian Theologian. D. W. Lowis (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October).

Religion and Science: a Test Case. G. C. Heseltine (*English Review*, September). Galileo.

The Counter-Revolution and Its Leader. S. B. James (*Ave Maria*, September 24).

A Crisis in the History of Trent. J. C. Murray, S.J. (*Thought*, December).

A Colonial Church in Paraguay. Pablo Alborno (*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, October). Church of San Roque, Yaguaron.

Luces vatacanas sobre la misión de Mons. Muzi en Chile. Pedro Leturia (*Razón y Fe*, September).

A Pre-Columbian Discoverer of America? Was John Scolvus a Pole? Avraham Yarmolinsky (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, November).

Columbus and the Norsemen. Ruth K. Byrns (*Catholic World*, October).

Il III Congresso internazionale di Archaeologia Christiana. Carlo Respighi (*L'Illustrazione Vaticana*, Oct. 15).

EUROPEAN

Urban VIII and Richelieu. J. Johnson, P.P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).

Why Joan of Arc was Brought to Trial. Leonard Curran, O.P. (*Dominicana*, September).

The Pastorate of St. John Marie Vianney, the Curé d'Ars (1786-1859). O. A. McGrath, O.P. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, December).

The Patron of Parish Priests: St. John Baptist Marie Vianney. T. J. Brady (*Salesianum*, October).

A Child among the Saints: Anne de Guigné (continued). E. M. Lajeune, O.P. (*Irish Rosary*, November).

Un missionnaire martyr: Monsieur de Solages (1786-1832), I. Georges Goyau (*Correspondant*, November).

La Universitad Católica de Lovaina. J. A. P. (*Razón y Fe*, September).

Conquista de Quesada y de Alcaudete por Mohámed II de Granada. M. M. Antuña (*Religion y Cultura*, October).

Jews, Conversos, and the Blood-Accusation in Fifteenth-Century Spain. Cecil Roth (*Dublin Review*, October).

Catholic Action in Holland. Brian McMahon, S.J. (*Irish Monthly*, November).

Les origines des Capucins Belges (1585-1587). P. Hildebrand, O.M.Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, October).

The Huguenot Republic of Geneva: an Historical Phenomenon. F. F. Roget (*Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XIV, no. 3).

The Catholic Church in Denmark. Ingeborg Lund (*Blackfriars*, October).

Erasmus en het Katholicisme. A. Vloemans (*Haagsch Maandblad*, October).

The Passing of a Great Catholic Statesman. A. Raybould (*Irish Monthly*, October). Mgr. Seipel.

The Seventh Centenary of the Death of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. M. R. Hoste (*Irish Rosary*, November).

L'autobiografia di S. Roberto Bellarmino. Ottorino Montenovesi (*Rassegna Nazionale*, August-September).

I Francascani in Creta al tempo del dominio veneziano (concluded). Giuseppe Gerola (*Collectanea Franciscana*, October).

Galileo and His Daughter. Mary B. Whiting (*Hibbert Journal*, October).

Giuseppe Tovini. E. S. Schwegler (*Thought*, December). A prominent Italian Catholic lawyer.

BRITISH EMPIRE

Monastic Observance in the Tenth Century. Thomas Symons, O.S.B. (*Downside Review*, October).

The Growth of Monastic Exemption, II. David Knowles, O.S.B. (*Downside Review*, October).

La Reforma en Inglaterra a la luz de la Historia. H. Muñoz (*Razón y Fe*, September).

Strasbourg Protestant Refugees in England, 1547-1553. H. J. Cowell (*Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XIV, no. 3).

The Music of the English Church. H. G. Ley (*History*, October).

Blessed Robert Southwell (concluded). C. C. H. Williamson (*Pax*, November).

Blessed Thomas More, Knight, Martyr. J. B. O'Reilly (*St. Joseph's Lilies*, June).

Some Aspects of the History of the Chantries during the Reign of Edward III. Kathleen L. Wood-Legh (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV, No. 1).

The Oxford Movement, II. Edward Hawks (*Missionary*, October).

Two Oxford Movements: Wesley and Newman. H. Watkin-Jones (*Hibbert Journal*, October).

Cardinal Allen and the Society, I. Leo Hicks (*Month*, October).

Records of the York Play of the *Pater Noster*. Karl Young (*Speculum*, October).

Brailes: and Penal Times. Bernard Basset (*Month*, October).

Prior Park and Bishop Baines. Abbot Butler (*Downside Review*, October).

Catholics and the Bristol Riots of 1831. Alphonsus Bonnar, O.F.M. (*Month*, November).

Organizing against Kildare Place, 1820-1824: an Example of Catholic Action, I. T. Corcoran, S.J. (*Irish Monthly*, October).

Arminianism in Scotland. G. D. Henderson (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October).

A Chantry Operating for the Soul of a Living Person. W. C. Skinner (*Scots Magazine*, October). St. Mungo, 1493.

The Paschal Controversy in the Celtic Church: a Repudiation of Papal Supremacy. C. M. O'Hare (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October, November).

John Brenan: Bishop of Waterford (1671-93), Archbishop of Cashel (1677-93). P. Power (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).

Une nouvelle histoire du Canada sous le régime Français (continued). Albert Jamet (*Canada Français*, November).

Catholic Footprints in the Northland. P. W. Browne (*Ecclesiastical Review*, November).

Sketches in Indian Life and Religions, XXII. T. F. Macnamara, S.S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).

The Church in South Africa. Bede Jarrett, O.P. (*Catholic Missions*, December).

UNITED STATES

Fray Marcos de Niza y el Descubrimiento de Nuevo Mexico. Armando Arteaga y S. (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, November).

A Pioneer of Pioneers (Junipero Serra). F. C. Clowdsley (*Columbia*, December).

El IV Centenario del Descubrimiento de California. C. Bayle (*Razón y Fe*, November).

Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies (concluded). Ruth K. Barber (*New Mexico Historical Review*, October).

The Radisson Problem. Grace L. Nute (*Minnesota History*, September).

Where Father Jogues Was Ambushed. Francis Talbot, S.J. (*America*, September 24, October 1).

George Washington and Freedom of Conscience. L. C. Barnes (*Journal of Religion*, October).

Genesis of the Political Principles of the American Declaration of Independence, III. J. M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, November).

Jacob Duché, First Chaplain of Congress. G. E. Hastings (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October).

The Establishment of the American Hierarchy: Diplomatic Sidelights, 1783-1784. Elizabeth S. Kite (*Ecclesiastical Review*, November).

The Last of the Signers. D. C. Lawless (*Columbia*, November). Charles Carroll.

Roger B. Taney: a Reappraisal. Monroe Johnson (*U. S. Law Review*, September).

The Moravians and Their Missionaries: A Problem in Americanization. Marie J. Kohnova (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).

The First Catholic Mission in Ohio. J. M. L. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, October).

A Pioneer German Catholic Settlement in Tennessee. C. Suellentrop (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, October).

Nashotah House: Wisconsin's Oldest School of Higher Learning. J. H. A. Lacher (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December).

The Miraculous Cures of Prince Hohenlohe in the United States in 1824. J. M. L. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, November).

Right Reverend Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., 1832-1932. Chrysostom Donnelly, O.P. (*Dominicana*, September).

The Catholic School Debate of 1840. H. M. Hald (*Catholic World*, October).

History of the American Party in Louisiana, I. W. D. Overdyke (*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, October).

Thayer's Account of His Conversion. H. F. Blunt (*Magnificat*, September, October).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here does not proclude extended notice in the REVIEW.*)

Adams, James Truslow, *The March of Democracy* (New York: Scribners, 1932, pp. xvi, 428. $3.50).

Adams, William Forbes, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1932, pp. vii, 444, $4.00).

Almanach Catholique Français pour 1933 (Paris: Librairie Bloud & Gay, pp. 480).

American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, vol. 41 (Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1932, pp. 182, xxvii).

Armstrong, Barbara Nachtrieb, *Insuring the Essentials* (New York: Macmillan, 1932, pp. xvii, 717, $5.00).

Bagley, Clarence, Ed., *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* (Seattle, Washington: Lowman & Hanford Co., 1932, pp. vol. I, 328; vol. II, 122).

Baumgarten, N. De, *Saint Vladimir et la Conversion de la Russie* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium, 1932, pp. 134).

Bernhart, Von Dr. Joseph, *Sinn der Geschichte;* Obermaier, Von Dr. Hugo, *Urgeschichte der Menschheit* (St. Louis: Herder Book Co., 1931, pp. xiv, 347, $3.50).

Bewer, Julius, *The Literature of the Old Testament in Its Historical Development.* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 449, $3.00).

Bon-Secours Notes et Souvenirs de Soeur Marie de Bon-Secours: 1828-1928. (Paris: Pierre Tequi, 1932, pp. 78, 3 fr.).

Brown, Stephen, *Catholic Mission Literature* (Dublin: Central Catholic Library, 1932, pp. viii, 105).

Conzemius, Eduard, *Ethnographical Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932, pp. 191).

Dermine, Abbé Jean, *L'Education Chrétienne de la Personnalité* (Brussells, 1932, pp. 241, 20 frs.).

Goebel, Rev. Edmund J., *Work Book in Church History and Key to Same* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1932, pp. ea bk. 215).

Grisar, Hartmann, *Martin Luther* (Paris: Lethielleux 1932, pp. xxxii, 402).

Galtier, Paul, S. J., *L'Eglise et la Remission des Péchés* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932, pp. xii, 511).

Gray, Howard L., *The Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation: A Study of the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932, pp. 423).

Guilday, Peter, Editor, *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1932. Pp. xiv, 354).

Guissard, P. Polyeucte, *Portraits Assomptionistes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932, pp. vi, 410).

Gurn, Joseph, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: 1737-1832* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1932, pp. 312, $3.50).

Hayes, Richard, *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution* (London: Ernest Benn, 1932, pp. xx, 314).

Humeau, Chanoine G., *Les Plus Beaux Sermons de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, pp. 294, 1932).

Jordan, W. K., *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932, pp. 490).

Lacombe, Emmanuel, *Les Elements d'un Programme Social catholique* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932, pp. 187).

Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531-1651, in the Harkness Collection. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Printing Office, 1932, pp. x, 336).

Lortz, Joseph, *Geschichte der Kirche* (Munster i/W: Aschendorffsch Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp. xxii, 89).

Puniet, Dom Pierre, O. S. B., *The Roman Pontifical* (New York: Longmans Green & Co. 1932, pp. xx, 279, $3.50).

Smalley, Ida Mary, *A Little Sister Missionary* (New York: Benziger Bros., 1932, pp. xvi, 229, $1.75).

Taylor, Monica, S. N. D., D. Sc., *Sir Bertram Windle* (New York: Longmans, 1932, pp. xi, 428. $4.00).

Van Der Essen, Léon, *Pour Mieux Comprendre notre Histoire Nationle* (Louvain, 1931, pp. 149).

Van Deusen, Glyndon G., *Sieyés: His Life and His Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932, pp. 170, $3.00).

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

JAMES F. KENNEY, Ph. D., F. R. H. S., Director of Historical Research and Publicity, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, was President of the American Catholic Historical Association for the past year of 1932.

PIERRE-GEORGES ROY, Archivist of the Province of Quebec. A native of Levis, student at the College of Levis and the Quebec Seminary. After some years in journalism, Dr. Roy became interested in archival work, and in 1920 was made Archivist of the Province of Quebec. A Doctor of Literature of Laval and Ottawa Universities, Doctor of Laws of Notre Dame, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory, and the recipient of other honors and decorations, Dr. Roy has published thirty-two volumes of *Inventaires,* thirty-nine volumes of *Historical Researches,* forty-two *Histories of Families,* twelve Reports of the Archives of Quebec and a host of other scholarly brochures, pamphlets and historical articles.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, Ph. B., University of Wisconsin, 1926; M. A., University of Michigan, 1927; Graduate student and Perkins Scholar in History, Harvard University, 1927-1929; Assistant in History, Harvard University, 1929-1931; Instructor in American History, Clark University, 1931——. Engaged in study of the Origins of Nativism in the United States, 1800-1860.